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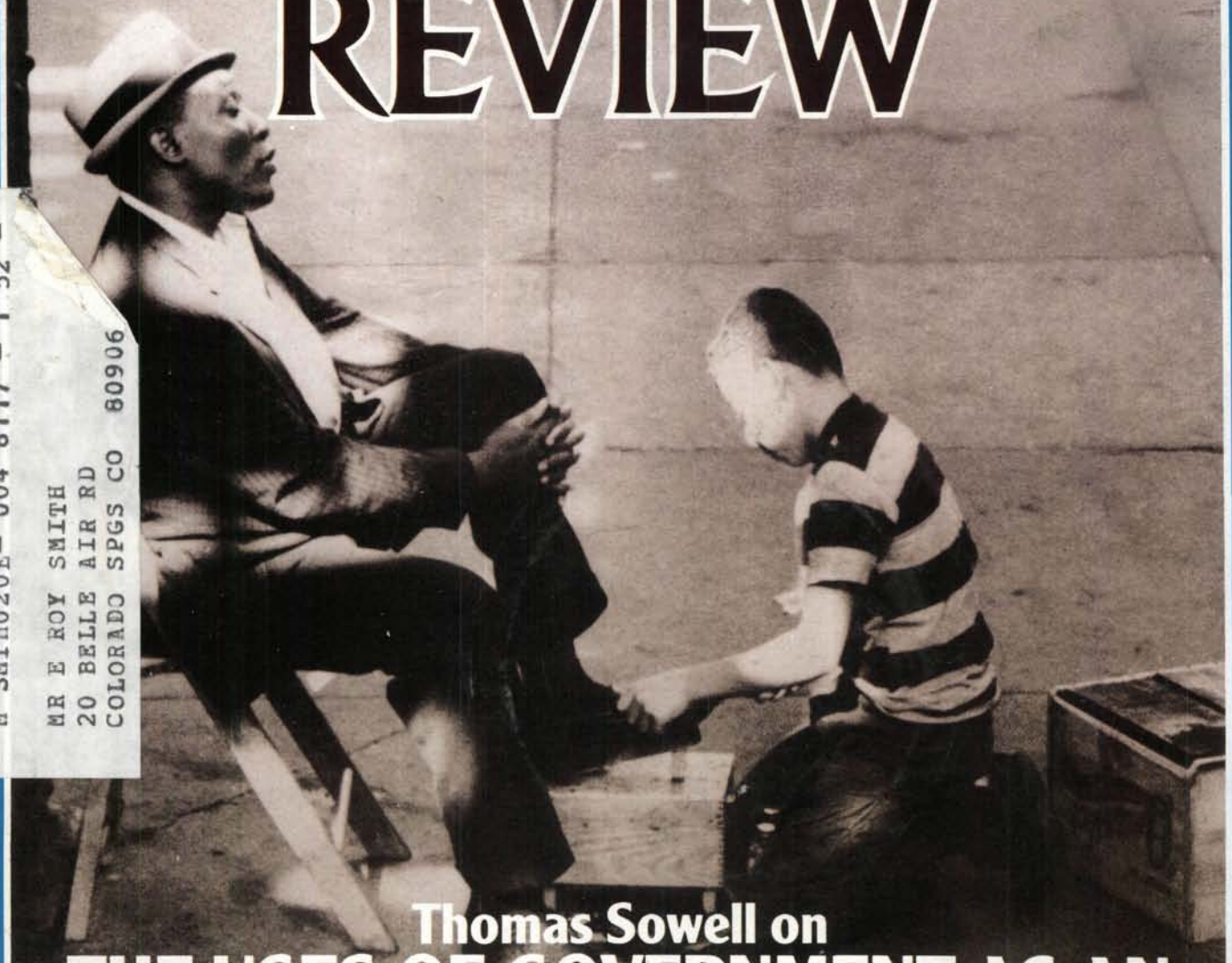
SEPTEMBER 4, 1981

. F. Buckley Jr. on
or's Big Gun Pops Off
—see page 1040

# NATIONAL REVIEW



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MR E ROY SMITH
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## Thomas Sowell on
## THE USES OF GOVERNMENT AS AN AGENT FOR RACIAL EQUALITY

## John Hutchinson on the Unscrambling of the Mess in Namibia

## Richard T. Reed on Dirty Tricks in El Salvador

CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL ◆ DONALD HALL ◆ ANTHONY LEJEUNE
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# Some insist coal is good. Some insist coal is bad.
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Those who insist that coal is good point out that we have over 200 billion tons of economically recoverable coal in this country—enough to last us for at least three centuries at current consumption rates.

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It's true, that with greater usage, coal could give us as much as one half of the new energy we'll need between now and the year 2000—enough to help loosen the dangerous ties that bind us to expensive and insecure foreign oil.

But those who insist that coal is bad point to abandoned mines which scar the landscape and allow acid water to seep into streams.

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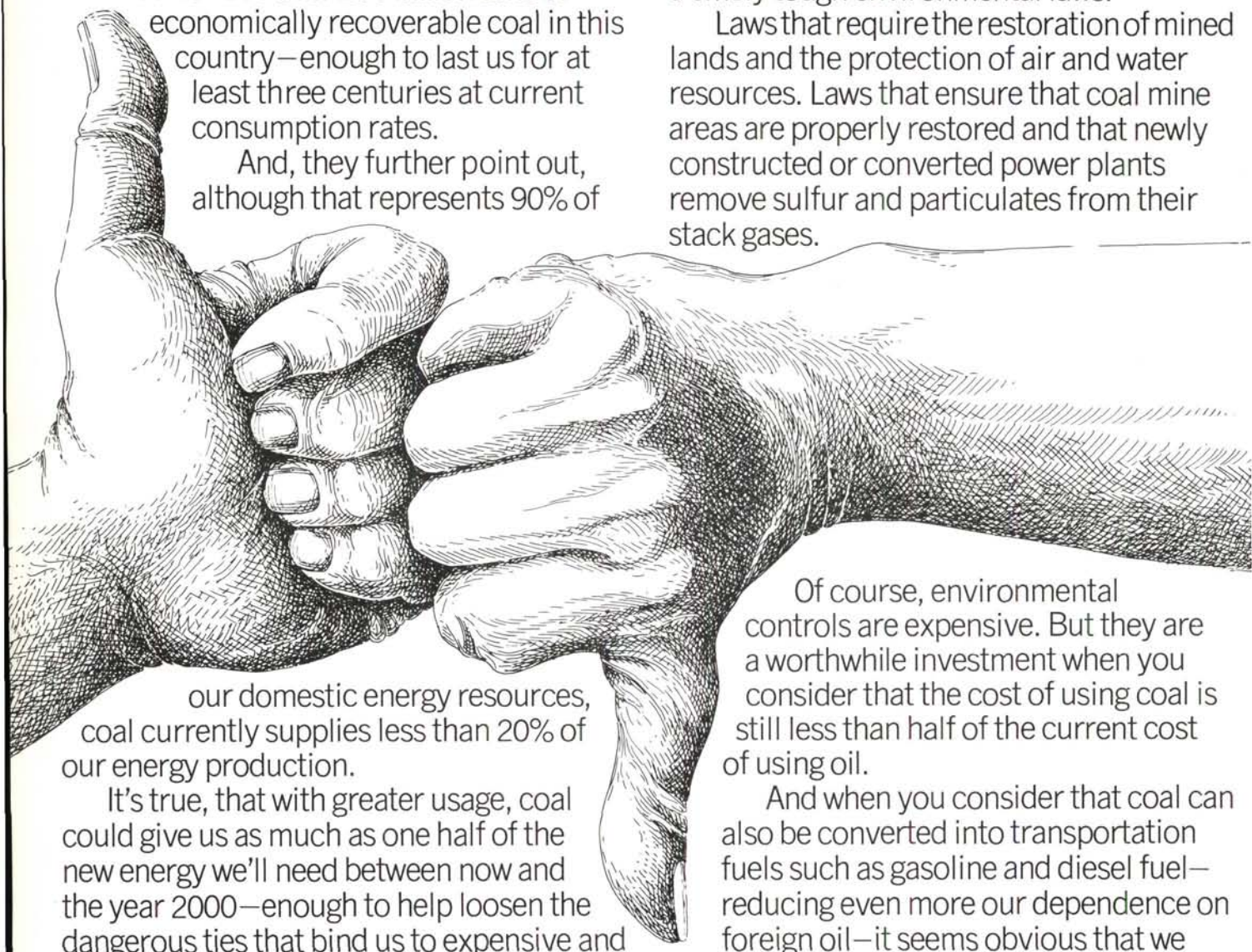

Of course, environmental controls are expensive. But they are a worthwhile investment when you consider that the cost of using coal is still less than half of the current cost of using oil.

And when you consider that coal can also be converted into transportation fuels such as gasoline and diesel fuel—reducing even more our dependence on foreign oil—it seems obvious that we ought to reassess our old prejudices against this most abundant of all fossil fuels.

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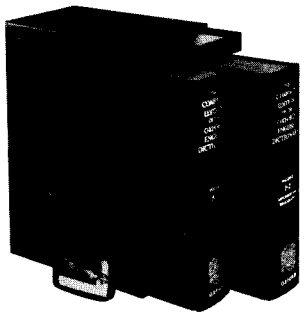

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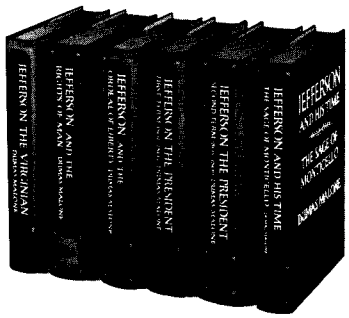

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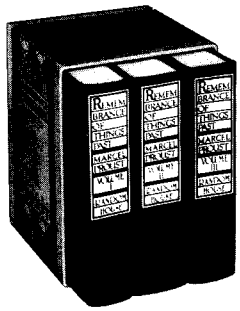

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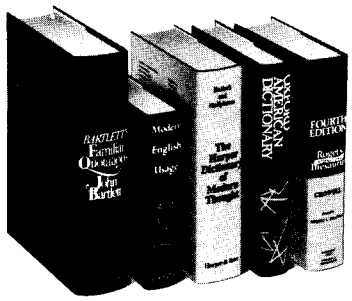

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# NATIONAL REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 4, 1981
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## Markets and Minorities


**1009** **The Uses of Government for Racial Equality**
The consequences for minorities, whether intended or not, of government intervention have generally been malign. Those groups that depended on politics for advancement have as a result suffered disappointments throughout our history, while those that chose economic achievement have thrived despite changes in the political climate. But all in all, depending on politics seems to do more harm than politics per se. *Thomas Sowell*


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Namibia is a full-time diplomatic job, and Ronald Reagan should think of sending his own special envoy. *John Hutchinson*

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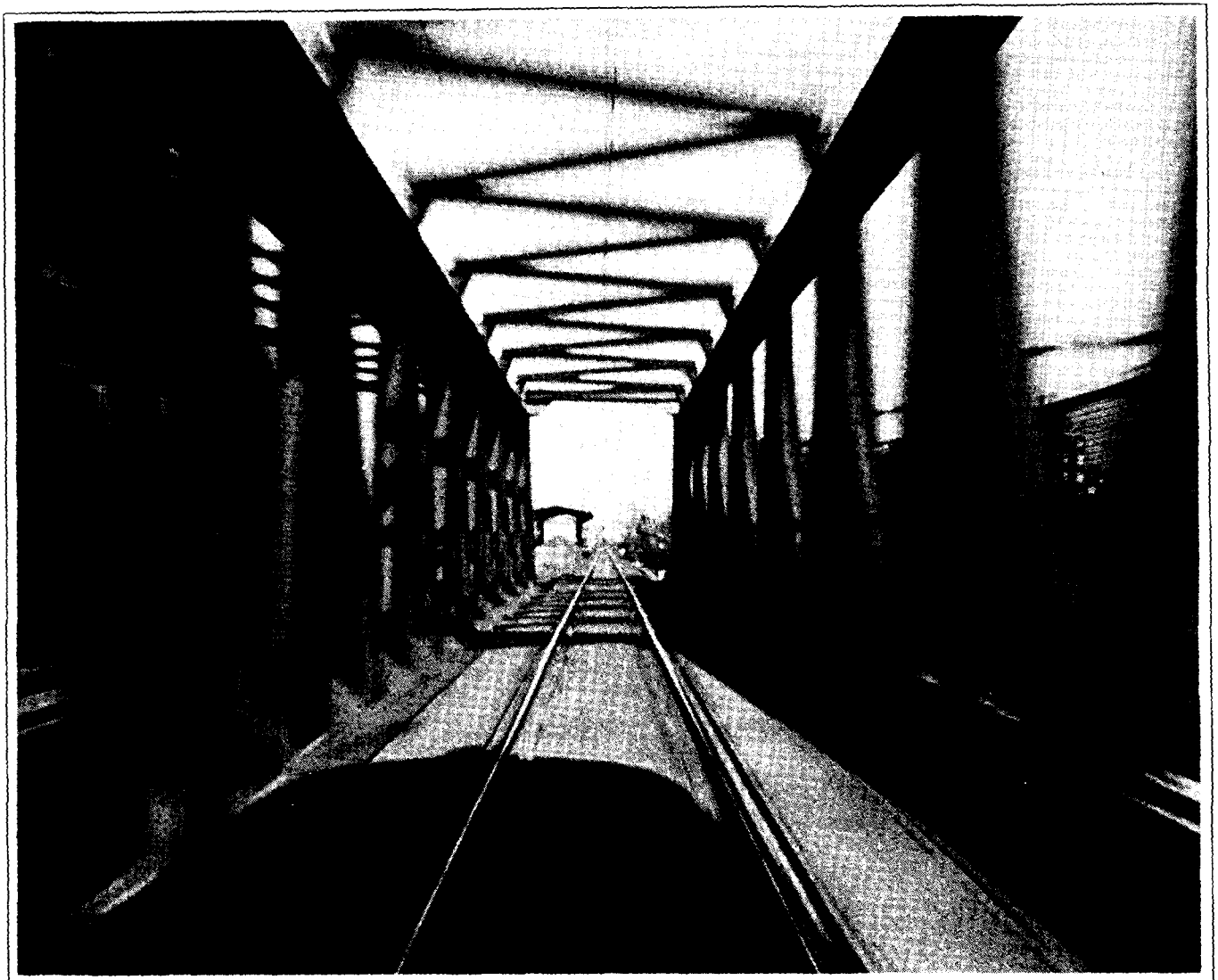

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# Letters

## The China Watch

Warren C. H. Kuo has deftly explicated China's new Arianism and the fall of Mao's chosen successor, Hua Kuo-feng ["The Forgettable Hua Kuo-feng," Aug. 21]. The eventual fate of Hua will be a clue as to whether Chou En-lai's protégé, Teng Hsiao-ping, is successfully controlling the Cultural Revolution cadres "helicoptered" to power by Mao. Should Hua stand trial for Maoist sins, it could mean Teng's in trouble.

*George Comstock*
*Dearborn, Mich.*

## War of Nerves

I found Edwina S. Campbell's "Verdun, the Somme, and the Fate of Poland" [Aug. 7] a rather disturbing piece on the European mood. Unfortunately, my reading of the press, and of history, forces me to concur with her conclusions. Those living under the shadow of the Iron Curtain do seem less concerned than Americans with the directions of Soviet policy. A European society scarred by the Somme and Verdun appears to have disregarded the lessons of its own past. It fears fighting another Verdun more than it fears the consequences of not fighting. The 1930s and 1940s seem somehow forgotten. The article brought to mind a passage from Jean Dutourd's *The Taxis of the Marne*, quoted in the epilogue of Alistair Horne's study of the battle of Verdun: "War is less costly than servitude, said Vauvenargues . . . the choice is always between Verdun and Dachau."

*Michael A. Palmer*
*Pennsauken, N.J.*

## A Dangerous Schooling

I was irked upon reading William R. Hawkins's "The Draft and the Confusion of American Conservatives" [Aug. 7], in which he rather offhandedly dismisses the long Anglo-American tradition against standing armies during peacetime and against conscription except in times of war or severe crisis. Why did our forefathers have a strong prejudice against mandatory mass-enlistment in the military? Why, in England and America, were huge wartime armies hurriedly disbanded once peace was declared? It was because they knew the evils of massive militarization of the populace. Mr. Hawkins lightly passes over the pernicious idea of an internal "national service" army of social-welfare busybodies. But this is just the danger of a peacetime draft.

There is nothing, short of war, so dangerous as the practice of indoctrinating youth with the idea that a society can be run very nicely if everyone follows orders. And why is it that the countries with the strongest histories of conscription (France, Germany, the Communist nations) also have the strongest traditions of socialism?

The reason principled conservatives abhor the draft is the mistrust of barracks-thinking and the fear of forced service which can all too easily foster the spirit of submission to authoritarianism. Mr. Hawkins seems numb to that uneasy feeling.

*Richard L. Voss*
*Elkhorn, Wis.*

## He's Not Heavy

Unfortunately, as I know all too well by my own experience and others', when writers of light verse complain about typographical errors, their complaints are generally considered nitpicking. *NR*'s error in line 6 of my "Perverse Discrimination" [June 26], however, is a serious one, to me anyway.

What I wrote is "They can't employ him; he's not black." For *he's*, *NR* printed *he*, making me sound vulgar as well as bigoted. Really, you know, this is the kind of thing that may not be important to a neoconservative magazine editor, especially when he is being nice enough to publish the verses of a neoliberal; but, after all, in this instance especially, I'll get enough flak as it is from discrimination addicts without your making me sound nasty.

Of course I know WFB didn't do it, although I wouldn't put it past Blackford Oakes. Anyway, boo!

*Corinna Marsh*
*New York, N.Y.*

## Definitions

With regard to NATIONAL REVIEW's editorial statement that "we see nothing to move us into the opposition" to Judge O'Connor's nomination to the Supreme Court ["The Week," Aug. 7], I ask: What is it that conservatives wish to conserve? Surely we must preserve the Judaic-Christian teaching of the sanctity of every human life because it has its origin and destiny in God. All human rights and duties have their justification in this principle and are in danger without it (witness the atheistic Communist states). Without this anchor, all rights become subject to the arbitrary will and definition of man, not the unchanging law of God.

Abortion is the central conservative issue of our time because it is the most direct and violent attack upon this prin-



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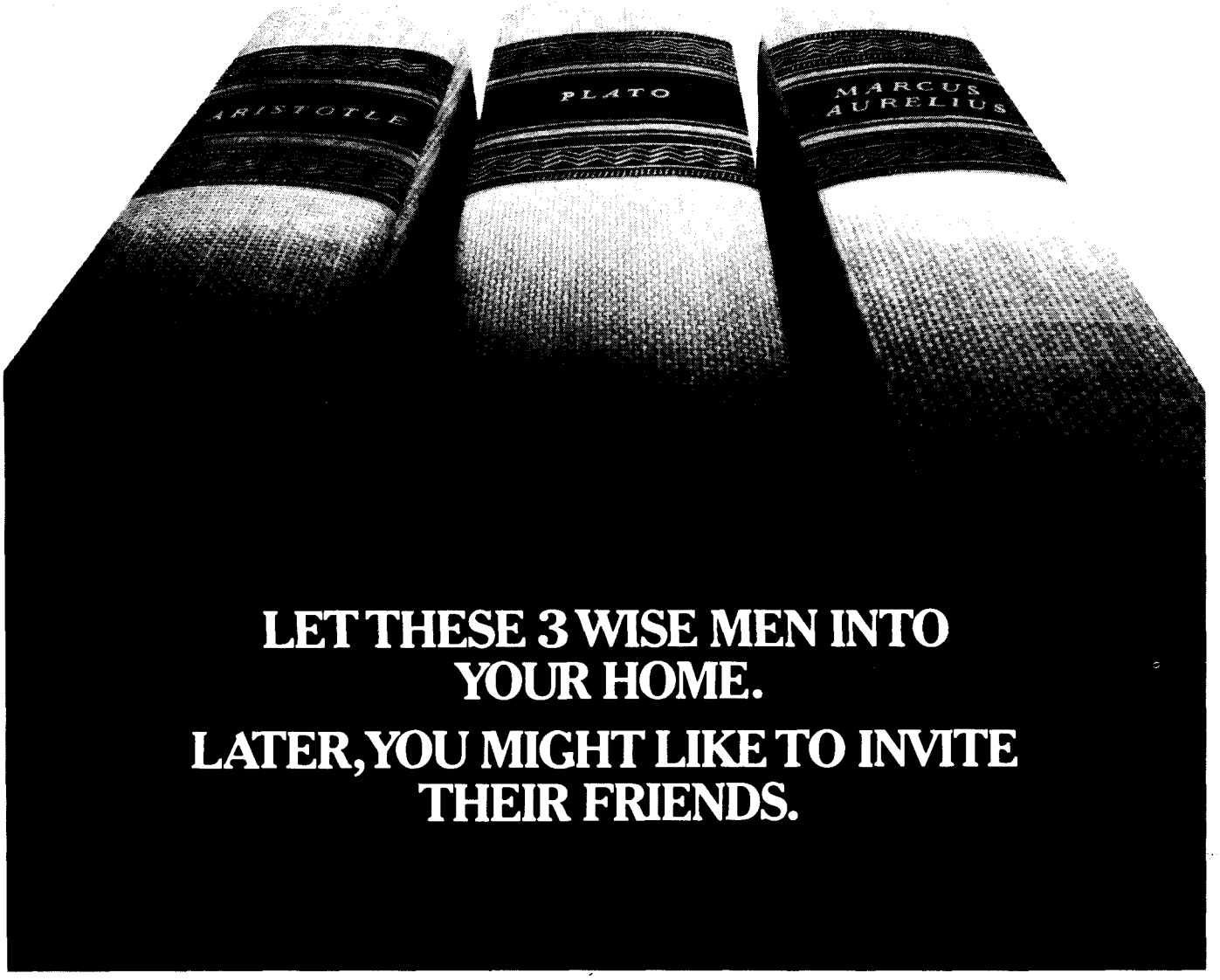


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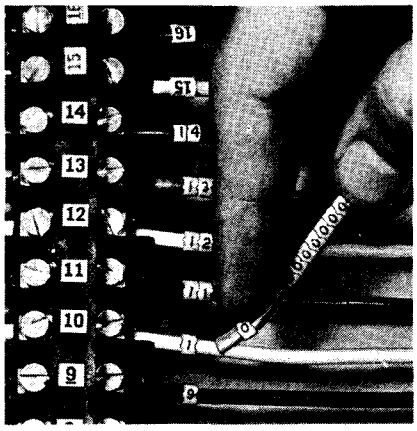

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ciple. To arbitrarily take a human life is to deny its intrinsic value. If we do this, it is inconsistent to insist that men are entitled to certain qualities of life, such as freedom from excessive government.

To those who complain that we cannot determine when a human life begins, we can simply say that the answer is found in the definition of conception.

There is a significant difference between the slavery issue and the abortion issue. Unlike a slave, you cannot free an aborted baby. He's dead. It is imperative that we work urgently to make the pro-life viewpoint institutionally desirable. It behooves President Reagan to emphasize the importance of this issue by selecting someone for the Supreme Court whose record is more clear. Of the many challenges Americans face, there is none more important than this battle for the dignity of man.

*Stephen Schuberg*
*Northridge, Calif.*

## Crowns and Garters

In his review of the book *Mountbatten* ["Lord Louis," June 26], Mr. Aram Bakshian attributes a quotation to "Sir Harrold Macmillan." Mr. Macmillan has never been knighted.

In addition, he refers to the "Prince Consort." Philip Mountbatten gave up his Greek and Danish titles at the time of his marriage, in 1947; thereafter, he was technically not a prince until so designated by his wife, in 1957. As of this writing, "Prince Consort" is not one of his titles. It might have made an interesting present for his sixtieth birthday, on June 10.

*G. A. Buckhout*
*New York, N.Y.*

## Calculus

It is unfortunate that John Saxon's otherwise fine article, "Algebra Made Understandable" [May 29], should have been flawed by a very obvious error in reasoning.

Mr. Saxon goes astray in his condemnation of Mastery Learning—one of the few practical new instructional philosophies to appear during the past two decades. In its most fundamental form, Mastery Learning is quite simple: No student may progress to a new topic before demonstrating proficiency in the present one.

We do not now require students (or their teachers) to demonstrate skills even approaching mastery. How could we? The classroom teacher has the assigned task of instructing 25 or more students simultaneously—not all of whom are capable of learning at the same rate.

The traditional method of coping with these differences is to assign a grade to each student's level of proficiency—*as*



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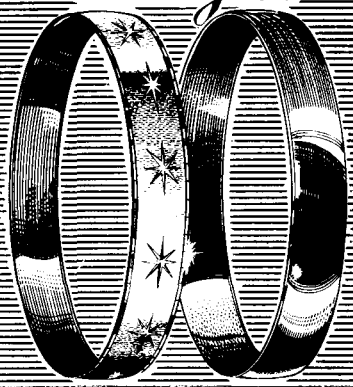

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*compared with his peers.* Unfortunately, this is not an absolute measure of skill, only a comparison, and, in granting that all students above an arbitrary score have "passed" a course, we do many of them a great disservice. Many solid "B" and "C" students, if they proceed into a higher course at all, find themselves as much as 25 per cent deficient in the skills they are presumed to have learned—a condition which can only compound itself with the passage of time and each new subject.

Mastery Learning, however, treats time as a (limited) variable, and performance as a constant, rather than vice versa. In fact, according to Dr. Benjamin Bloom, of the University of Chicago, 90 to 95 per cent of all students should, under this system, be capable of learning what only the most gifted 10 per cent are now learning.

Were we to use Mastery Learning universally, at least some measure of credibility might be restored to our educational system. No matter what, or how little, individuals had studied, we would have some assurance that they had achieved an acceptable level of competence in those subjects.

*Mark R. Salser*
*Junior Associate*
*Educational Research Associates*
*Portland, Ore.*

### Mr. Saxon Replies

Mr. Salser accuses me of an obvious error in reasoning. In proof, he proffers an ipse-dixit from a Dr. Bloom which says that students using the mastery-learning technique *should be capable of learning*, etc. Also, Mr. Salser says that mastery learning is one of the few practical philosophies to appear in the past two decades. Twenty years is a long time. Why do Dr. Bloom and Mr. Salser still suppose—where is their data?

In my article I reported the results of an AFT-monitored massive test of over 1,360 Algebra I students in twenty Oklahoma schools in which students who used the incremental approach *more than doubled* the scores of the control group on a series of year-end final examinations. Mr. Salser ignores this concrete data and tells us what Dr. Bloom supposes would happen and suggests that the whole country should support Dr. Bloom. Then he accuses me of faulty reasoning.

Mastery learning is a specious theory—almost approaching outright fraud. As soon as a test is passed, the topic is dropped and never discussed again. Its proponents carefully ignore the fact that mastery-learning students cannot pass comprehensive final examinations. My students can. Would Mr. Salser and Dr. Bloom care to wager? I would be happy to take their money!

### Encomium on MacNelly

I write to honor Jeff MacNelly ["The Week," June 26]. Mr. MacNelly and Mr. George F. Will have transformed the editorial pages of this country during the past five or so years. The combined power of their pens has greatly served good sense, hard thinking, fine art, and keen wit. NATIONAL REVIEW is to be congratulated for its long association with MacNelly and Will, both of whom have followed the editorial-page tradition begun by *NR*'s editor.

When "Shoe" is fully hatched, I hope MacNelly returns to the editorial pages—a space otherwise too likely to be filled by Herblock's uninspired work.

*Lincoln C. Oliphant*
*Arlington, Va.*

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# FOR THE RECORD

■ The Soviet anti-neutron propaganda campaign took off last week full-throttle. How does it work? Here's a sampling from just two days' issues of the Communist *Daily World*. Aug. 14, front-page banner: "N-BOMB CONDEMNED WORLD-WIDE." Inside we find that: **Kurt Waldheim** expressed "profound regrets" at news that America was putting the neutron warhead into production; **Michael Foot** (British Labor Party leader) found it "worst decision since **Reagan** has taken office"; **Bella Abzug** says it "could lead to the destruction of civilization"; Sen. **Nino Pasti** of Italy calls it "pure insanity"; **Lionel Bowen** (Australian Labor Party) finds it "new menace to world peace." Aug. 15 front-page banner: "OUTRAGE BUILDS AGAINST N-BOMB." Page 7, under International Notes, these headlines: "FRG Figure Hits N-Bomb"—**Egon Bahr** of the **Willy Brandt** wing of the Social Democratic Party sounding off; "Mexico against N-Bomb"; "N-Bomb Rejected by Turks"; "Austrian [Foreign Minister **Willibald Pahr**] Cites New Perils." Same day: **World Council of Churches**, meeting this year in Hungary, is alarmed to its last cassock. . . . A major anti-Reagan demonstration, "Solidarity," initiated by **AFL-CIO**, backed by **NAACP**, **Urban League**, etc., supported by Trotskyists (*Militant*), Communists (*World*), already scheduled for Sept. 19 in Washington, is fast being turned into anti-neutron extravaganza.

■ Around the world, meanwhile, the peaceloving Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is replacing its tent camps in **Afghanistan** with permanent military bases, including new airstrips in area bordering China's Xinjiang province, according to reports in *India Times*. . . . A North Korean military detachment has arrived in Salisbury, Zimbabwe to train **Robert Mugabe**'s new army. . . .

Holland, *Daily Telegraph* Rothco

**"Please sir, Hadrian's Wall was built to prevent Roman soldiers from forcing their attentions on the pigs and Scots."**

Soviet allies **Qaddafi** of Libya, **Mengistu** of Ethiopia, and **Ali Nasser Mohammed** of Southern Yemen met in Aden to forge "a closer alliance against Western policy in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean." . . . Leftist guerrillas who staged an abortive coup in **Gambia** are found to have been armed with Soviet weapons. . . . **Colombia** breaks relations with Soviet protégé **Fidel Castro** after discovery that Castro has been training Colombian guerrillas. [See editorial, page 1002.] . . . France immediately offers political asylum to four exiled Chileans (two former **Allende** cabinet ministers) now in Argentina. Not so surprising considering **Régis Debray**, former comrade-in-arms to **Che Guevara** and former press attaché to Allende, is now chargé de mission in the Elysée, handling Third World affairs.

■ First poll taken after start of air controllers' strike shows majority of Americans do not believe controllers, postal workers, teachers, firemen, or policemen should strike. Sixty-four per cent approved Reagan's handling of the strike, 27 per cent disapproved. . . . Although from **Lane Kirkland** on down, union leaders have deplored Administration tactics with the controllers, no sympathy strikes or boycotts have been called. Reason: that could open them up for lawsuits and injunctions. . . . Make way, **Carroll O'Connor**, **Paul Newman**, **Marlon Brando** for **Ed Asner**, the crusading **Lou Grant**, who last week joined an air-controller picket line because he is a "union loyalist."

■ What's Ahead? Presidential aide **Martin Anderson** says Reagan Administration will probably come up with tuition tax credit proposal in 1982. He calls the idea "tremendously popular in Congress." A predecessor (**Packwood-Moynihan**) tuition tax credit bill almost made it through Democratic-controlled 96th Congress. . . . Labor Department has drawn up new set of regulations on **Davis-Bacon** (a fifty-year-old law that keeps wages high in construction industry) that should make construction costs cheaper for industry and obviate a major congressional battle over repeal. . . . On Jan. 28, Reagan deregulated oil prices. In subsequent six months, over 35,000 new wells have been drilled in the U.S., 21.6 per cent above same period a year ago; exploratory drilling was up 30 per cent. **Petroleum Information Corporation** calls this "the most significant increase in years.

■ Your fast-lunch **hamburger**, **pickle**, and **ketchup**, reports *U.S. News*, gets to you 41,000 government regulations later, things like pickle width (not less than 0.12 or more than 3.8 inches thick), ketchup flow rate (no more than nine centimeters in thirty seconds at 69 degrees Fahrenheit).



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# THE WEEK

■ Whenever we are tempted to despair that there is no justice in this world, we remind ourselves that the Berrigans are in prison, and Nixon isn't. The system, say what you will, works.

■ A potentially historic clash between Congress and the Courts is now brewing, over private schools and bureaucratic presumption. For ten years now, the Supreme Court has held that the IRS may not grant tax exemptions to private segregated schools. Fair enough, or at least not surprising. But in 1978, the IRS proposed a radical change of the rules of the game—any school which has been "established or expanded" during a period of desegregation would be *presumed* to be segregated. The burden of proof would shift from bureaucrat to citizen. Private schools would be compelled to jump through a long row of IRS-held hoops. The plan never came to fruition because Congressmen Ashbrook and Dornan amended the Treasury Appropriations Act to forbid the IRS to expend money on the scheme. The IRS promptly involved itself in a sweetheart lawsuit against like-minded "plaintiffs," took a dive, and got itself ordered by a federal judge to do what it had wanted in the first place. By a vote of 337 to 83, the House has now amended the relevant act to forbid the IRS from spending tax money to carry out the court order. Representative Ashbrook quoted no less an authority than James Madison: "This power of the purse may, in fact, be regarded as the most complete and effectual weapon with which any constitution can arm the immediate representatives of the people." It could be a battle royal.

■ At the Democratic Governors Conference, California's Jerry Brown allowed as how the Democrats weren't by gawd going to stand by and watch Ronald Reagan dismantle generations of social progress etc., a battle cry with all the emotional resonance of the injunction to save your Confederate money, boys, etc. Jerry is now widely referred to as Lord of the Flies.

■ The Reagan Administration is contemplating the reform of our intelligence services, the novelty this time around being that reform is understood to mean improved efficiency. Toward which end the Administration may seek to revive the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Committee, to work in both conjunction and competition with the CIA. Apart from hobbling constraints left over from the Frank Church era, the CIA suffers from a bureaucratic tendency to seek a consensus that usually turns out to be the mushy lowest common denominator of its components, with the result that Soviet salients tend to be minimized. An independent committee could avoid that tendency, while spurring the CIA to correct itself.

■ The Reagan Administration has proposed a new GI Bill to provide educational benefits for recruits in the Army and Marines who serve in combat units. Lawrence J. Korb, Assistant Secretary of Defense for manpower, points out that most recruits in the Air Force and Navy are given mastery of a trade, while the only way to provide incentives for combat units is to pay for their education after they leave, and to recognize the special hazards of their work. The distinction is valid in civilian life as well: there is a difference between those who risk their lives and those who don't. This distinction was obliterated by Mayor Lindsay of New York when he acceded to across-the-board early pensions for all public-service employees, and not just for policemen and firemen.

■ An interesting precedent may have been set by two members of the Right to Life Society of Greater Dayton. The two women, who handed out anti-abortion literature in front of the Dayton Women's Health Center (which, among other services, performs 250 abortions per month), were charged with trespassing. Their attorney, Michael McDonald, moved to subpoena the clinic's files and declared his intention to defend his clients by pleading the "doctrine of necessity," which excuses trespassing when necessary to save a human life. When the City Prosecutor refused to kill the move to subpoena the files, the clinic dropped the charges. One of the alleged trespassers commented: "I almost wish we had gone through with it because the problem still has not been solved."

■ Jesse Jackson and PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) have coaxed the Coca-Cola Company to come across with a cool $34-million "moral covenant": hiring more blacks, putting one on the board of directors, throwing business to a black-owned ad agency, that sort of thing. No proof of discrimination involved; no mention of things like "merit"; just goodies for blacks—or PUSH would resume its boycott. Thus Coca-Cola has contracted to violate the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbids discrimination by color—though no court is likely to make an issue of it. So score one for the private sector, sort of, and be glad it wasn't Jerry Falwell boycotting on behalf of Christian values, because that would be intolerable.

■ More than 12 per cent of all Americans speak one of 96 mother tongues other than English. So should we extend the Minority Language provisions of the Voting Rights Act to make sure Estonians and South Moluccans aren't disfranchised by accident of gibble-



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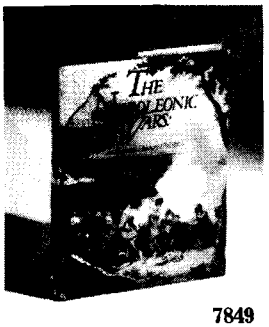


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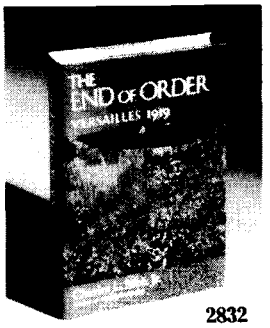


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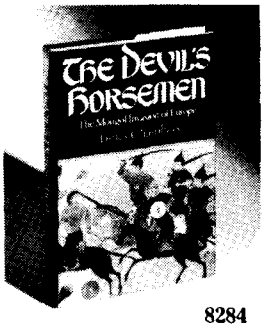


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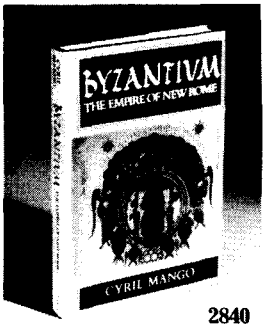


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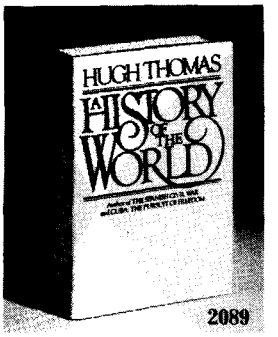


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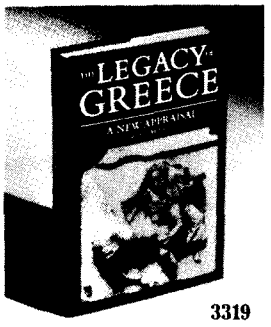


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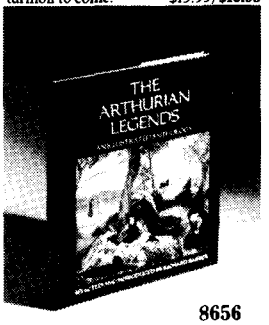


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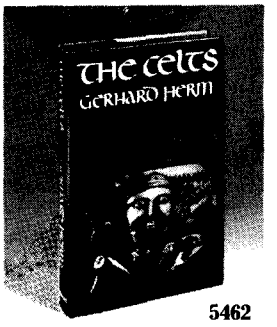


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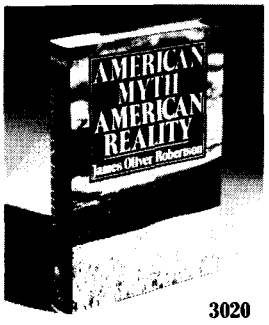


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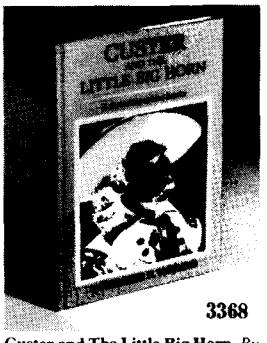


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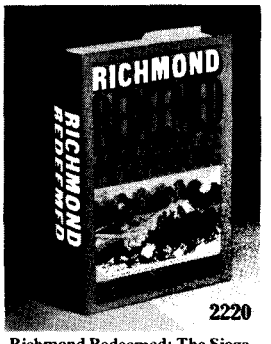


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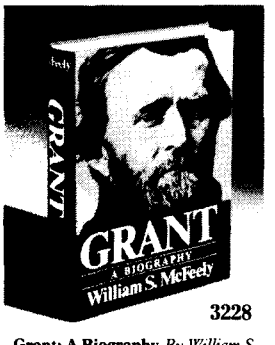


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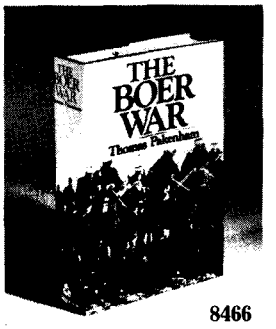


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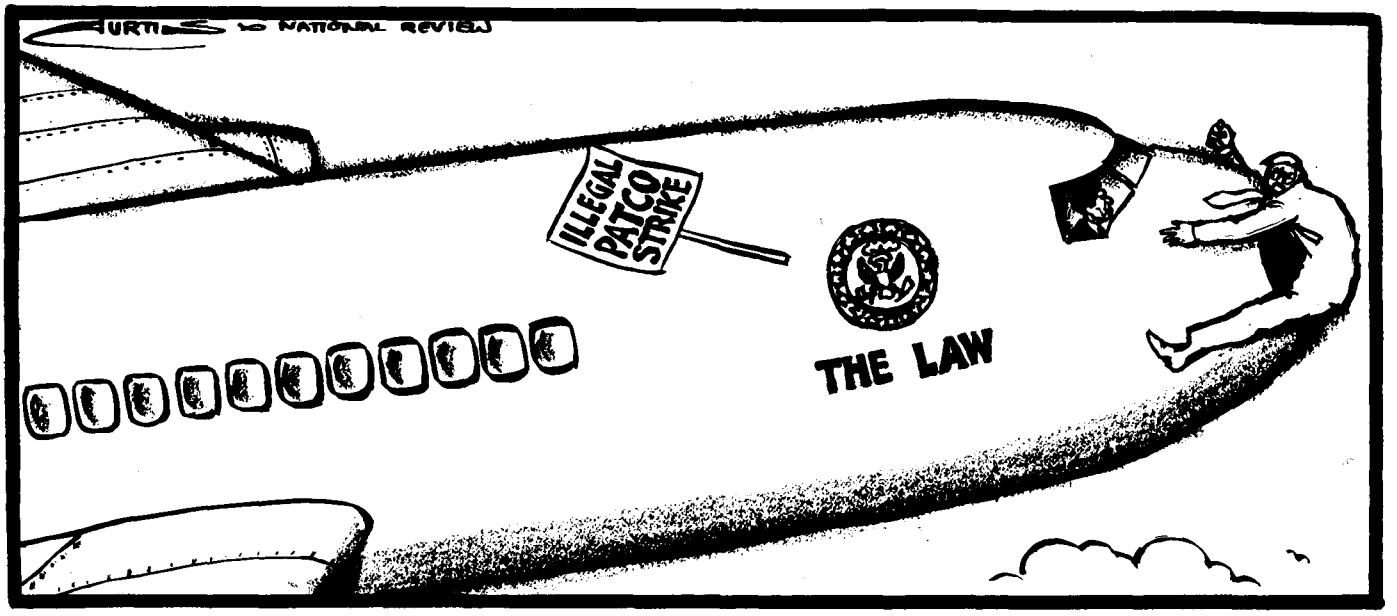


**"But we didn't give you clearance!"**

gabble? Wouldn't the effort be better spent in simply training our politicians to talk turkey?

■ Judge Gerald Weber, of the U.S. District Court in Pittsburgh, has issued an order banning local public-school personnel from protesting his merger of five school districts, for purposes of desegregation. This after one teacher, qua father of public-school pupils, led a march against Weber's action. The Pennsylvania branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, in keeping with the ideological impulse underlying the ACLU's devotion to "civil liberties," has decided that the judge is right, and that the absolute right of free expression accruing to Nazis, pornographers, and Communists must, in the cases of teachers and parents, be subordinated to the imperatives of equality. Surprised?

■ What pages of the August 13 *New York Times* did you read? On page A3, Colombia's President Julio César Turbay explained in an interview his country's severance of diplomatic relations with Cuba and its shift in policy to focus on Fidel Castro as the region's "principal destabilizing factor." In the Colombian President's words, "When we found that Cuba . . . was using those relations to prepare a group of guerrillas to come and fight against the government, it was a kind of Pearl Harbor for us. . . . It was like sending ministers to Washington at the same time you are about to bomb ships in Hawaii." In an Op-Ed article on page A23, Jamaica's former (1972-80) Prime Minister Michael Manley described Castro as "comfortable with pluralism" and the Cubans as "insistent on the principle of noninterference in the affairs of other countries," and he assailed the Reagan Administration for reviving "a myth that Cuba spends its time plotting revolution throughout Latin America."

■ The latest phase in Poland's problems, now entering their second year, focuses on food. The inherent deficiencies of socialist collectivism for attending to a people's basic needs have been signally aggravated by production stoppages designed to press the regime toward solving those very deficiencies. Pari passu, shortages and indignation have been intensifying. A new cut in the meat ration and orders for another general price rise have again brought workers out of the fields and shops and into the city streets in droves. The Communist Party—now for the first time forced by pressures inside and out to adopt democratic procedures—is no longer in a position to lay down policies by fiat, and is now reduced to being palpably a small and unstable factor. Its rivals for general ascendancy—principally the urban and rural Solidarity movements—can obstruct and make demands but cannot lay down the law. The wholly unpredictable situation cannot long endure—which is what was being said about it a year ago.

■ Officials of Targhee National Forest, near Yellowstone Park, have discovered that if they allow sheep-grazing, the sheep are likely to be molested by grizzly bears, which are then likely to be shot by sheep-herders. They have now restricted most sheep-grazing in the area, to save the grizzlies.

■ All of a sudden, they were demolishing the Biltmore Hotel in New York. Though landmark-concerned New Yorkers have gone to court to block the demolition, the owners plan to strip the building to its steel



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skeleton and erect a new office building which will be the New York headquarters of the Bank of America. The whole thing has a barbaric quality. For almost seventy years the Biltmore has been a New York presence. It expresses a particular period in American life. Of course new buildings must go up, but should there not be a sense of negotiation between the present and the past? Could the Palm Court and the famous Clock not have been incorporated, say, into a new lobby-level restaurant? The present disposition of the Biltmore is philistine.

■ In a recent editorial, the *New York Daily News* seemed to favor destroying, or permanently concealing, a large quantity of Nazi art confiscated by the U.S. Army after World War II. Is the purpose of such censorship to prevent Nazi art from infecting viewers with love of the Führer? To be consistent, then, the *News* should demand that the art created under Stalin, and the poetry written under Mussolini, also be interdicted. If for some reason the art work, including four watercolors by Adolf Hitler, cannot be returned to Germany, it should promptly be made available to scholars and critics for examination and to museums for public exhibition, and to students of depravity.

■ THE THIRD CIVIL WAR. Reagan sweats. Stockman doctors official GNP and inflation figures. The PLO takes over Saudi Arabia. A white Southern senator shoots a black senator. Texas tries to secede from the Union and join OPEC. Throughout the U.S., workers riot. A liberal fantasy? An economically illiterate version of supply-side prospects? Well, yes. By Chris Welles, in the August *Esquire*, under the title "The Collapse of '84." During the Sixties *Esquire* found it possible, not to say profitable, to be both trendy and liberal. In the Eighties it continues being liberal, while affecting to be trendy. The apocalypse for *Esquire* will occur in the event Reagan's policies *succeed*. Can't have that.

■ Some Chicago lout had to go and notice that we are coming up on the centennial of Franklin D. Roosevelt's birth (January 30, 1982), so now all the gears are grinding toward a year-long, tax-financed celebration of the event. Not inappropriately, the lout picked up a $200,000 federal grant to plan it. If the celebration is truly to be in the FDR mold, it will be bureaucratic, Cabinet-rank, unconstitutional, more expensive than any before, and perpetual so that our children's children can help pay for it a hundred years from now.

■ VOICES OF MODERATION. James Michener in *Playboy*, on Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority: "We're developing a very able cadre of American Ayatollahs who are going to do this country in the way the Ayatollah Khomeini is doing Iran in, if we're not very careful. . . . [Falwell] is a prototype, yes. He and Jim Robison are very frightening. I would give a passing tip of the hat to the great Reverend Jim Jones, who served a very useful purpose in reminding us what can happen when the Ayatollahs go crazy. . . . [Falwell is] going to drive a magazine out of existence; books off the library shelves. He's going to reverse the sciences of the past three hundred years. He's not only an Ayatollah, he's also a Savonarola. . . . [His followers have] decided to exterminate from public life everybody they call a scientific humanist—that is, if you do not believe in God and the New Testament. So the Jews are just gonna be eliminated if these people have their way." He's got a point. Clearly the age of raving bigotry is already under way.

■ Members of the Bavarian State Opera in Munich went on strike in the third act of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*, startling the audience no little bit when the entire chorus stopped singing but remained on stage moving their lips.

■ An appeals court has ruled that Lee Marvin does *not* have to pay Michelle Triola, er, Marvin $104,000 in palimony. The news came as a blow to liberated types who make careers of giving up their careers.

■ Morton Kondracke, of Washington, D.C., has won a used Cadillac and two books of food stamps for becoming the one-thousandth liberal pundit to accuse the Reagan Administration of "showering money on the rich." Mr. Kondracke will also be receiving a modest tax cut, a fact, however, which brings him no consolation, in that everyone else is getting one too. He would turn his windfall over to his favorite charity, except that as of January 20 the Federal Government ceased holding that place in his affections.

# The Soviet Line

Secretary of State Alexander Haig's emphasis, in an address to the American Bar Association, on Soviet restraint as a pre-condition to a range of mutually beneficial collaborations was presumably meant to refer to moderation or reserve. Georgy Arbatov, in an ABC network interview three days later, construed the proviso to mean coercion. The U.S. intent, so he inferred, was to compel behavior at variance with the Soviet Union's inherent nature—an unacceptable attempt calling for Soviet resistance. With all his reputation as a specialist in American affairs, Arbatov's rank in the Soviet firmament is relatively mod-



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est. What gives his words special weight here is their consonance in content and tone with a line of discourse that has been pressed by Soviet spokesmen at every opportunity, off the record and on, all summer long, and relayed to Washington through many channels. It deserves careful examination.

The Soviet line stresses what it construes to be a novel degree of bellicosity in U.S. official utterances, exemplified in President Reagan's remarks anticipating disintegration of the Soviet system and in portrayals of the Soviet Union as a universal sponsor of terrorism. The Soviet line links those utterances to palpable policy undertakings such as the sidetracking of SALT II, the beginning of a U.S. military build-up described by Soviet spokesmen as utterly unprecedented in peacetime, and decisions to make U.S. military supplies and equipment available to Mainland China and to assemble neutron warheads for stockpiling in the U.S. The Soviet line belittles the military significance of a military deal with China—a mendicant nation—unless the U.S. should go in for a grant program of enormous magnitude, but it stresses the political import of what is seen as an implicit effort to play up the Chinese as strategic collaborators against the Soviet Union. The Soviet line undertakes to discredit the neutron weapon as a merely defensive device and to portray it as adaptable to attack.

In the Soviet interpretation, the U.S., behind a set of subterfuges, is actually renouncing arms control altogether and is preparing to levy deliberate war against the Soviet Union. The tendency of U.S. policies—as Soviet spokesmen profess to see them—is toward contention, confrontation, and combat and away from accommodation, amelioration, and amity. The unfolding situation is likened to that immediately preceding World War II—a communication breakdown verging on total. The Kremlin line differentiates between the present contretemps and preceding crises such as those concerning Iran in 1946 and thereafter, Berlin in 1948, Korea in 1950, Cuba in 1962, and the Middle East in 1967 and 1973, in that those earlier instances rose from rivalries over third positions whereas the instant one rises from one side's —the U.S.'s—flouting of the precepts which up to now have forestalled direct conflict between the superpowers. The crux—in the Soviet interpretation—involves arms control, the one field of possible concord involving objectively precise quantification and a field, moreover, vital to preserving peace between the counterposed superpowers. The way to get ahead with arms control—this point is given heaviest emphasis—is to take up the effort where it was left off, the mutually-arrived-at SALT II pact, as to which the U.S. is the defaulter.

The Soviet line is not to be discounted. It is potent for propaganda purposes. The Soviet Union can be counted on to exploit it for full advantage in the months ahead. U.S. policy will be hard tested to keep alliances intact while buying time to get U.S. military resources up to the mark for coping properly with the main adversary under conditions of peace.

## The Era of Good Feeling

Like dragons holed up in a cave,
Progressives grudgingly behave
While salivating for the year
When Beowulf falls on his ear.

W. H. VON DREELE

# Neutron 'Bomb'

In the first place, the thing is not a "bomb." It is an eight-inch artillery shell, which can be either fired from a gun or mounted on a Lance missile. The semantic edge gained by calling it a "bomb"—and thus associating it with weapons of mass destruction—is simply part of the political power-struggle over this weapon.

Second, the neutron shell is almost entirely a defensive weapon, an anti-tank weapon. Its principal use today is to offset the 4 to 1 tank advantage enjoyed by the Warsaw Pact over NATO. It should be noted that NATO is not planning a tank attack upon East Germany and Poland. Therefore, Soviet threats to develop their own neutron warhead are hollow. Doing so would merely divert resources to a weapon of little strategic interest to them.

The fact is, however, that the Soviets perceive their massive advantage in armor as a political plus, and with good reason. Those forty thousand Warsaw Pact tanks politically intimidate the Western Europeans, and help to build a mood of futility and neutralism. Small wonder that the Soviets do not desire this political advantage to be canceled by the "neutron anti-tank shell." (*There!* We recapture the semantic initiative!) If the Soviets do not wish a neutron shell to be fired, all they need do is refrain from launching a tank attack across the German plain. Simple.

In one of the more bizarre, but also successful, operations in the history of psychological warfare, the Soviets succeeded in establishing the formulation that the neutron shell is a typical capitalist weapon because it kills people while leaving property intact. This has surprising resonance. But, of course, the *tank* is not an enemy. It's only a piece of metal. The personnel inside the tank are what determine its military and political use.



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The Carter Administration caved in before the political pusillanimity of important European politicians, who themselves were swayed by political pressure from the Left in their own constituencies. (We are talking, principally, about Helmut Schmidt.) It is possible that they thought President Carter would rescue them politically by simply going ahead with the neutron shell, and were surprised when he did not.

Reagan has now moved to correct this feckless Carter decision. Assuming deployment, the chances diminish of a Warsaw Pact tank attack across West Germany. The Soviets know that, and the fact may even sink into the bemused Western European consciousness. Reagan has said, in effect, that Finland is not the future of the Western nations. Unless they will it so. If Finland had had the neutron warhead, there would not be the term "Finlandization."

## Labor Lessons

The interesting thing about the air controllers' strike was not its illegality, but something even more fundamental: *because* it was illegal, PATCO lacked the monopoly power enjoyed by many unions, leaving the employer free to seek the same services from others. The others are filling in acceptably, and PATCO has bit the dust. Ronald Reagan must have grasped that this was a free-market situation and that the government accordingly held the trump cards. He won again, leaving unionoids like Albert Shanker to rail about George III and how organized labor seems to be freer in Poland—well, almost—than here. Meanwhile, New York City's Transport Workers Union got the message and backed off its own strike threat.

Related facts of life asserted themselves in Philadelphia, where seven newspaper unions accepted pay cuts that took them far enough in the direction of their market value to allow the *Philadelphia Bulletin* to continue publishing. Nobody, but nobody, seems to have found any relevance in all of this to the late *Washington Star*. Unlike the rival *Post*, the *Star* was unable to control union costs—and poof! Yet this factor failed to put in an appearance in any of the mournful post-mortems.

## On High Interest Rates

By all measures—the consumer price index, wholesale prices, and the GNP deflator—the inflation rate is declining faster than the Administration had projected. The CPI increased at a 7.4 per cent annual rate for the second quarter of 1981, down from 9.6 per cent in the first quarter, and 12.4 per cent in 1980. Wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of 5.8 per cent in the second quarter compared to 13.3 per cent in the first; and the GNP deflator grew at just a 6 per cent annual rate in the second quarter. Yet interest rates remain high. Why?

The old school of populist Democrats says it is the Federal Reserve Board's tight monetary policy. The trouble with this view is that everybody else (especially the money market) has learned that loose money means higher inflation, and higher inflation means higher interest rates. The Republican Old Guard says the high interest rates are due to the budget deficit, and that the Reagan tax cuts have made the budget deficit problem worse. The trouble with this view is that there is nothing new about budget deficits. Large and rising budget deficits are the normal fare in Washington. Now for the first time in a long time the budget deficits will be declining.

The monetarists say the Federal Reserve Board has yet to stay on a course of non-inflationary money growth for long enough to take the inflation expectations and uncertainty premiums off the interest rate. The markets, say the monetarists, are waiting for the Fed to crack under the tight money strain and loosen the reins. In other words, no one believes the Fed will keep money tight.

The gold-standard advocates say that inflation resulted from the devaluation that accompanied closing the gold window in 1971. Since then, they say, the dollar has been a currency with an undefined value. And since its value is not specified and defended by the government, everyone expects it to depreciate.

Then there are the supply-siders, who say that the years of taxing savings heavily and subsidizing borrowing have taken their toll. The two-percentage-point drop in the personal saving rate since 1975 means that $42 billion is missing from the capital markets this year alone. In other words, a chunk of that high interest rate is owing to the adverse effects on saving of high marginal tax rates. With the change in tax policy, they expect private-sector savings to rise.

## Twenty Years

Twenty years after a wall was constructed to stop the flow of defectors (over one thousand a day) from Communist East Germany to West Berlin, both the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain between Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe and the Free World still stand as monuments to cultural decadence and moral barbarism. No turn in the 850-mile mesh and barbed-wire boundary dividing East from West Germany is out of range of one of the ominous guard towers, and the guards still have orders to shoot to kill, "to prevent escapes at all costs." The mesh is mined with what the



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East Germans euphemistically call "SM-70 antipersonnel weapons," so sensitive that a separate, dead wire must be stretched above the fence to allow birds to alight without blowing themselves up. Flowers dot the unmarked graves of unknown persons who were killed trying to escape. All told, the Iron Curtain extends 4,500 miles from the Barents Sea, well north of the Arctic Circle, to the Caucasus, on Iran's border.

We are reminded (as so regularly) of the prescient words of James Burnham, writing in these pages twenty years ago this week: "Will it seem, looking back a few months from now, that the climax of the Berlin crisis was reached during the third week of August? That from then on it was a slide downhill? That's the way that hindsight may quite possibly read the course of events. . . . By doing nothing, the West accepted the political meaning as well as the physical consequences of the Khrushchev-Ulbricht actions. The West could have rejected them only by refusing—literally, physically, refusing—to respect the boundary barricade and controls. The closing of the sector boundary and its political implications having thus been accepted, the climax is already over. Since the West failed to counter this first and crucial Communist move, how can there be sufficient motive for countering the politically less significant moves that will follow?" Reflecting one month later on his first impressions of the erection of the Berlin Wall, Burnham wrote, "Once again the Communists have succeeded in their favorite gambit. They raise a ruckus and put forward a slew of demands. Everyone then calls for 'reducing the tensions' by 'negotiating a compromise.' We negotiate, and we compromise. That is, we grant them half or two-thirds or nine-tenths of what they have asked, and we 'win' one-tenth. Until the next round. So far as the Berlin crisis goes, we repeat what we wrote a month ago. It is behind, not ahead of us. Its climax took place and its outcome was assured August 13. After that, it was all over but the whimpering." August 13, 1981 passed with hardly even a whimper from the national press, but the Berlin Wall and indeed the entire Iron Curtain—not to mention a growing list of once-sovereign nations—remain as awful landmarks of our failed policies.

## Fidel and Trouble

Though it has received almost no attention in the U.S. media, serious trouble is stirring for Fidel Castro in Central America and the Caribbean. Before his death in a plane crash, President Omar Torrijos of Panama had moved into a position of conflict with Castro. Both dictators had cooperated in the overthrow of Somoza in Nicaragua; but after the Sandinista triumph, while Torrijos withdrew his troops, Castro sent in more Cubans and more arms. Torrijos's relations with Havana became frigid.

### What a Way to Go

Hamlet's father died from poison
  Deftly ladled in his ear.
Cleopatra got it asp-wise;
  Nagging did it to King Lear.
Caesar fell within the Forum
  In a rather grand affair,
But a fruit fly did in Jerry
  As he fought for cleaner air.

W. H. VON DREELE

President Jaime Roldos of Ecuador, a charismatic and democratic figure who swept into office at the age of 38, had also become politically hostile to Castro. Roldos died, yes, in a plane crash. Cuban-backed guerrillas claimed credit for sabotaging the plane.

In Colombia, the discovery that Cuba has been training guerrillas to fight against the democratically elected government of President Julio César Turbay has led to a break in diplomatic relations. The Cuban ambassador explained that Havana was morally obligated to support leftist guerrilla movements. Turbay reflected: "I didn't take it as an excuse. I considered it a confession."

Earlier this year, voters in Jamaica defeated a Castroite and elected a pro-Western democrat. The Reagan Administration has made the Caribbean a high-priority area and is determined to combat the expansion of Communist control. In blunt talks recently in Managua, Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders acquainted Nicaraguan officials with some of the realities. For Central America, the 1980s will be an interesting period.

## The Pen Is Mightier . . .

*democracy* is a pretentious new quarterly by a freshly sprung mushroom called the Common Good Foundation in New York. Sponsored by Max Palevsky, Stewart Mott's rival in Left-philanthropy, and edited by Sheldon S. Wolin, it costs $4 an issue. Subtitled "A Journal of Political Renewal and Radical Change," it is being touted nationally as one of the various engines for liberal (radical?) regrouping, following the debacle of Election Day 1980 when the world turned upside down. Its contributors are out to break the spears of conservative pundits like George Gilder and Ernest Lefever. Volume One, Number Two leads off with an "Editorial": "[Reagan] is plainly an unpolitical animal, uninformed, and with a mind and sensibility that are faithfully reproduced in the banality of his speech and observations. . . . The important stakes, in our view, are not government spending but power." . . . You can hear the heads thrusting up, like



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# As you probably know . . .

Bill Buckley has been writing a series of spy thrillers that have become bestsellers. *Who's on First* is the one you will find selling in bookstores right now (a new one is coming up soon!). All chronicle the daring (and *brainy*, of course!) adventures of Blackford Oakes, a dashing ex-Yale CIA agent. One of his best and most intriguing assignments occurred in *Stained Glass*, a book now rather hard to come by.

But we happen to have a number of copies of *Stained Glass* in the original hardcover edition (retail price $8.95) and if you don't yet have any of these exciting books (or not *this* one) here is a great opportunity to get your own copy.

Right now we are offering a hardcover copy of *Stained Glass* FREE and postpaid to you if you'll do us the favor of subscribing to *National Review* magazine (or renewing your present subscription, no matter when it expires) for the full year (26 issues) at no more than the current $24 rate. That's right: you get this $8.95 book absolutely FREE if you take advantage of this offer *now*!

*Stained Glass*, by the way, is winner of an American Book Award, and the perfect example of *why* these Blackford Oakes novels have won such critical acclaim. They're much *more* than mere thrillers (only Bill Buckley would dare add all the other elements, marvelous stuff you won't find in anybody else's novels!). This one takes place some seven years after World War II (round about when Buckley himself was in the CIA . . .), and has plenty of action and a plot that will keep you guessing right up to the final pages. More, it really *does* involve *Stained Glass* — and what you learn will illuminate that fascinating art as do the windows themselves (i.e., you'll see it all from the inside).

Again, don't miss this opportunity to get this famous thriller *free*. Just use the card facing this page right now.

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spring dandelions, in Peoria, Pittsburgh, and Portland.

Next, a piece by Philip Green, very scholarly, called "In Defense of the State (I)." Then an article entitled "Presidential Power and the Crisis of Modernization," by Alan Wolfe, in which the author speculates that "Ronald Reagan, even though elected, spends considerable time—perhaps it will take an entire first term—demonstrating that he is indeed 'presidential material.'"

It's an impressive act, all right: useful ideas aplenty for all sorts of Democrats from Chicanos pumping gas in New Mexico to serious intellectuals like Diane von Furstenberg in New York. Meanwhile, Senator Edward Kennedy is Out There In The Real World, telling large audiences that the Republicans are making retarded children by forcing their mothers to go undernourished. The intellectual counter-reformation has hit the ground running.

## Kennedy vs. Mondale

Though it is widely deplored, the next presidential campaign begins, not right after the voting, but certainly before. Even as the Carter fortunes were visibly declining, and Reagan's just as visibly ascending, other men were choosing their roles for 1984.

We are not embarrassed to talk about it, though for political moralists presidential politics is "boring," but Walter Mondale and Ted Kennedy are the two leading contenders for the 1984 nomination. They began long before Carter's defeat, they are the only two Democrats to have raised funds for Democratic candidates, and both are working to extend their influence and their commitments in the party. In this contest, history has cast Mondale as the Democratic centrist, Kennedy as the keeper of the leftist flame. Mondale is trying to maximize his strengths and minimize his liabilities. His strengths are organizational. He did all that he could to maximize them as Vice President. Mondale will be the candidate of the regular Democrats, and he has already moved toward the center politically.

Ted Kennedy has cast himself, perhaps irretrievably, in the role of liberal oppositionist. Kennedy's strength lies in the Democratic minority constituencies—blacks, Hispanics, militant women, hard-core liberals—which are, under the rules, over-represented at Democratic conventions. Not surprisingly, both Kennedy and Mondale fought hard to place representatives on the key committee which will draft the rules for the 1984 nominating process. Heavy preliminary action can be expected.

The political liabilities of both men are enormous. The nation is in the midst of a deep rebellion against most of what Ted Kennedy has stood for in his political career and, despite some recent moves on deregulation and the structure of medical care, still does. Kennedy seems to speak from his political heart when he apologizes for America, and his politics has always been anti-Middle America. Despite, perhaps because of, his deep-chested eloquence, he seems type-cast as the William Jennings Bryan of a dying Left tendency in American politics.

But Mondale may be the liberals' Tom Dewey. The technical politician, the organization-builder, the man who, when he enters the hall, makes the audience wonder why it is not somewhere else.

Because of the manifest weaknesses of these two leading contenders, a lot of other Democrats have been making presidential noises. John Glenn is running, at least verbally, but he has no organization—and it is a historical fact that since 1920 no politician from Ohio has been nominated for President. Perhaps Warren Harding made it forever unlikely. Gary Hart, Hugh Carey, Pat Moynihan, and others have their hopes, but given the political equations they seem to be little more than vice presidential hopefuls.

So, as of now, it seems to be Mondale or Kennedy. Commiserations are in order.

## An Ignorant Priest

The matter gives us no pleasure, but the fact must be recorded. It has come to our attention that a priest, a Jesuit, has been retailing intellectual lies in an effort to score what he considers telling points against *NR* in the diocesan newspaper of St. Louis.

In its June 12, 1981 issue, *NR* dealt with an egregious con worked in El Salvador by Fr. Roy Bourgeois, a Maryknoller. (See Richard Reed, p. 1017.) This individual had disappeared for 12 days, amid mounting speculation that he had been killed and fierce diplomatic pressure from Washington on the Salvadoran government. Then Fr. Bourgeois reappeared. Ha ha. *NR* observed that even his language stank of Marxist clichés, an accurate judgment that

## To the Keynesians

Call it luck or say it's spooky;
Stir the entrails as you will.
Say supply-side stuff is kooky—
Laffer often leaves them ill.
Sure, your ganglia may shimmy
As your sang-froid starts to go,
But remember life with Jimmy
When the spenders ran the show.

W. H. VON DREELE



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we illustrated by quoting his sentence to the effect that he intended to "unite with the poor of El Salvador in their struggle for justice and peace."

To Father John Kavanaugh, that translates as follows: NATIONAL REVIEW believes that "justice and peace smell of Marxism."

Fr. Kavanaugh also attacks George Gilder in the following terms: Gilder's book *Wealth and Poverty* "has, quite simply, reduced the Act of Faith to the clanging of cash registers."

Dante consigned the falsifiers to the eighth circle of Hell. "[They] were all in one ditch together . . . and such stench came forth as is wont to come from gangered limbs."

## Paddy Chayefsky, R I P

Paddy Chayefsky, who died on August 1, was a stubbornly moral writer. He refused to believe that the twentieth century's most popular forms of entertainment—television and film—were incapable of addressing the great themes that transform entertainment into art. And with the passion of an Old Testament prophet he demanded that people be as good as he knew they could be. If he was sometimes bitterly satirical, it was because like most moralists he was outraged at the follies of humankind. But his satire was never cheap or mean. Even at his most sardonic, he communicated a sweetness and love which was as rare in television and movies as it was necessary. How else could a writer speak of humankind's potential and failings? In all of his work, Mr. Chayefsky wrote about the common man struggling with the uncommon, and he resolved the apparent incompatibility of the two by presenting the uncommon in common terms: in *Marty*, existential anguish in the mouth of a butcher; in *Gideon*, the word of the Lord in the language of an occasionally distracted angel and a recalcitrant, vain prophet; in *Altered States*, the origin of consciousness in the form of a Hollywood horror film. At its worst, this could lead to inadvertent comedy. This is the danger inherent in reducing the high to the low. But at its best, as in *Network*, the blend of high and low works splendidly, giving voice to the inarticulate. Mr. Chayefsky's success as a popular screenwriter is due in great part to this: he was a medium through which the average American could express his thoughts and feelings—thoughts and feelings that often were anything but average. Mr. Chayefsky had faith that any man, Everyman, was capable of nobility of spirit and action. His importance as an artist rests on this attempt to find a way to deal with high themes using everyday characters and everyday language—which is, after all, the central artistic issue in a mass society.

—DAVID BLACK

## Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: WFB
From: JKG

FYI [Enclosure:]
John Kenneth Galbraith
30 Francis Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Professor Galbraith:

I have enclosed for what I hope will be your amusement a photocopy of a page from *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, Revised Edition with Supplement, Reprint of 1978.

I can't imagine how such things happen unless perhaps they are sharing researchers with the NATIONAL REVIEW. And if you think Chambers is being hard on you, think of me. I just paid $15 for the book.

All best wishes,

William Curran
Bainbridge Island, Wash.

[Enclosure:]
[Between FULBRIGHT, J(ames) William (1905— ), and GLOUCESTER, Prince Henry, Duke of. Died 1974:]
GALBRAITH, John Kenneth. Died 1976.

Memo to: JKG
From: WFB

Dear Ken: I understand now why it is that since 1976 you have mellowed. Cordially, Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

We thought you might like to know that we are recommending to our colleagues in the English Department that they use your column of April 30 on the Institute for Policy Studies as an example for their writing classes.

Many of the features of political reductionism and misrepresentation that Goebbels specialized in are beautifully exhibited in your piece, beginning with your ludicrous comparison of Marcus Raskin with Goebbels himself. There are fine specimens of the masking of factlessness by sonorous sneering, and we would want no student to miss the way you collapse all distinctions necessary for thinking into one heap of things you don't like.

In a class on the use of evidence we would have



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Harpur, *Punch* Rothco

**"Apparently the Americans have perfected this weapon that realizes people's worst fears while leaving their apathy intact."**

students list your misreadings of your "source." They would not find in Muravchik's article, for example, anything about Raskin going to Hanoi, and indeed he never went. Another class would take up Muravchik's article itself and study how it makes the leaders of the Institute, who in fact despise the Russian government more than you do, into its friends, by means of a quiltwork of brief excerpts.

A class on ideology, finally, could spend an enjoyable and instructive hour locating the resentments and obsessions that produced such a shoddy piece of slander.

We look forward to your next column.

Yours sincerely,
John Burt, Acting Instructor
Michael Ferber, Assistant Professor
Margaret W. Ferguson, Associate Professor
Richard Halpern, Acting Instructor
Department of English
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. Burt, et al.:

Some time between the present moment and when you apply for tenure you must teach yourself the difference between "slander" and "libel." My guess is that providence will supply you ample time. If my reading of the activities of the Institute for Policy Studies is so distorted, then the editors of the *New York Times* and I qualify equally for the distinction you have unevenly accorded me. It is correct that Mr. Raskin did not travel to Hanoi. His closest associate, Mr. Barnet, did, and we can only assume that Mr. Raskin had logistical, not ideological, problems that kept him away; or did Goebbels already figure that one out? I look forward to your next book.

Yours faithfully,
WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Yesterday, I took the SAT. According to the College Board's "Student Bulletin," I must follow all their rules or my test scores will be invalidated. This is fine; however, one of the rules which is printed on the answer sheet to the test is this: "Use a #2 pencil only for completing this answer sheet." I know that the CB people can make any rules that they want for their tests; however, I think that their commanding that I never again use a #2 pencil is going too far. By making this command, the College Board may be causing the death of a large and important industry. Is there any way that you can help me regain my right to use #2 pencils? Any help would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Jeffrey A. Trexler
Mertztown, Pa.

Dear Mr. Trexler: I know a guy who makes #2 pencils but marks them #1. Nobody will know. I'll send address. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Accolades, and yes, even thanksgiving, for one of your brightest stars, W. H. von Dreele.

A delighted reader,
Ida M. Lee
Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics
Stanford University
Stanford, Calif.

■ Dear Editor:

I read the NATIONAL REVIEW from time to time. It is utter bullshit. Please alert Mr. Buckley.

Sincerely,
Michael Clark
Brown University
Providence, R.I.

Dear Mr. Clark: I have been alerted. But please, no more brownnosing. Cordially, **—WFB**



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# The Current WISDOM

## A Letter From Camp

NEAL B. FREEMAN

*Dog Days, August*

Dear Bill:

You may find this hard to believe, but some readers, more'n a few, weren't all that happy with my last letter from camp. Seems they didn't understand what a story on football was doing in these august pages. One guy wrote that he loves football and he loves *NR*, but like champagne and pickles, he prefers 'em one at a time. Well, you know me, I'm no quitter. I'm going to keep doin' this piece till I get it right.

First of all, you might ask, why am I talkin' funny like this? Here I am a New Englander born and bred and I'm drawlin' all over this page till it's sticky to the touch. Just practicin', that's all. I've been interviewing the coaches this week and you've got to keep your geocultural guard up. Football, see, is your basic redneck sport, even when it's played in your basic frostbelt stadia. I first learned that fact the hard way, when I asked the old Jet quarterback Joe Namath, the pride of the Pennsylvania mining country, where he picked up his Southern accent. He gave me those laser-beam eyes for the long count and oozed out: "I picked it up playin' baaal." Judgin' from the jivin' that proceeded to commence in the locker room, I had just been dealt one jumbo ready-to-go *bon mot*. Playin' baaal is a one-way ticket south punched by Messrs. Mason and Dixon.

## The Marlboro Man

Yesterday I went lookin' for the head coach. (He's the senior field executive, not a psychiatric aide.) You can always pick him out because he's the one wearing shorts tailored tight across the tush. Everybody else wears uniforms or jeans. And he's always on the sunny side of the field, squinting into the sun. It's a little faggy to stand over in the shade, I think. The coach never wears sunglasses, so when he comes in out of the sun and relaxes his facial muscles, he has these little streaks of bleached skin fanning out from the corners of his eyes —sort of a cross between the Marlboro man and KISS.

## Breaking In Writers

Anyway, he is, as we say at camp, a piece of work. He is gnawing a good hunk of Red Man and watching the players hit the numbers. *Spraat*. To look at him you might think he was concentrating deeply on Xs and Os, but he's really looking for an opening to fire off a round of brown juice at your shoe. *Spraat*. The coach gets in the habit of breaking in the players, see, and he can't seem to stop himself from trying to break in the writers. *Spraat*. He's got a sweet rhythm that betrays him, though, and the good move is to wait for the pre-launch nod of the head before shuckin' briskly a step and a half to windward. When he launches the spume—*spraat*—it slides by nice as you please. Then he's ready to talk.

Some people have trouble talking to football coaches because they never say what they mean. It's not exactly that they lie. It's that they prefer to proceed with caution, poking snake sticks into the grass ahead of them. For instance, when a coach says of one of his players, *That boy really comes to play*, your casual listener may pick up nothing but the background noise of red-dirt clichés. To the trained ear, however, comes the message: "This player's competitive attitude, pharmaceutically honed, has settled into that fine groove between the merely savage and the starkly maniacal. Which is good." Or take these other examples culled from the echoes of a day at camp:

*He's in the best shape of his career.* His liver doctor scared him real good.

*Our fans can expect an exciting team this year.* Fumbles will kill us.

*He lacks quickness.* He's white.

*He's got great peripheral vision.* Look at those eyes. He's sick with fear.

*He's had some difficulty picking up our system.* The guy has the IQ of a mushroom.

*He's surprisingly quick for a big man.* Absolutely meaningless. It is said of every pro player who weighs in excess of three hundred pounds, of which every team has one. Not two. One.

*He has great hands.* He's slow.

*He's got a great attitude.* The kid's insane. He'll hit anything that moves, from an opponent to a laundry truck.

*He hears footsteps.* He's experiencing a gonadal deficiency.

*In his quiet way, the big guy has won the respect of all of us.* He's black.

*We could go all the way this year if we get settled down early.* I'm hoping to renegotiate my contract before the first game.

*He's got great moves.* He could teach St. Vitus how to dance, but we need guys who can block and tackle.

*He's a leader off the field as well as on.* The guy's bimbo book is encyclopedic.

*We're an improving ballclub.* We don't have a chance.

*He's our big-play man.* The laziest sumbitch on the team.

*The guys really look up to him. That's why they elected him union rep.* They hate him.

There's really nothing to it, once you get the dang thing down.

See y'all,
NBF

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# The Merits of 'Jaw-Jaw'

## The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

CHURCHILL'S REFERENCE to the comparative merits of "jaw-jaw," over those of "war-war," was not perhaps one of his most felicitous phrases, but the sentiment behind it is worth a thought or two.

When the European Security Conference in Madrid rose for a three-month break on July 28, the jawing had gone on since the previous November, and if anything had been achieved, nobody has drawn it to my attention. The point of interest here is that Winston Churchill evidently thought of negotiations, as most people do, as an alternative to hostilities; whereas the Communists, Soviet or otherwise, look upon talking as a form of war, among other forms.

To be fair to our side (which doesn't always deserve praise in such matters), the parting speech by the head of the United States delegation to the Madrid conference was quite admirably bellicose. "What we have witnessed during the entire life of this meeting," said Mr. Max Kampelman, "is a systematic effort by the [Soviet] regime to destroy the entire human rights movement in the Soviet Union. No human rights group has been left untouched."

Good warlike stuff. As Mr. Kampelman said, the participants could not even agree to disagree and would therefore be coming back in the autumn, to try to achieve at least that modicum of agreement.

### *Play It Cool*

It is in the last stretch of apparently interminable talks that the stamina and ideological conditioning of the Communist side tends to win out. The Western diplomat has a conditioned commitment to compromise and to the notion that any agreement is better than none. The Soviets are in it purely to win, although they may decide to settle for an agreement that falls short of their aims if useful purposes can be served. Thus at Helsinki in July 1975 (of which Madrid, 1980-81 is the follow-up), they settled for a text—the Final Declaration—which was in various respects unsatisfactory to them. It committed them, for instance, to promises on human rights which they had no intention of fulfilling (and which, as Mr. Kampelman noticed, they have not in fact fulfilled).

They did so because they badly needed the technological transfers available to them as part of the detente package. Besides, there were important, though not necessarily permanent, side benefits, not least the contribution Helsinki made to the military and psychological disarmament of the Western allies. Before the end of 1975, for instance, both the American and British governments announced large defense cuts. In effect, Helsinki gave Brezhnev and his colleagues a free ride for several years, until Afghanistan shook off the scales that had been blocking Jimmy Carter's vision. That is why the strong stand of the American delegation at the Madrid conference is so welcome.

Let us return now to the Communist view of negotiations. Among the examples, perhaps the most instructive are the Geneva conference of 1954 on Korea and Indochina, and the Laos conference of 1961-62, also in Geneva.

Geneva 1954 is rightly remembered as the conference that brought the first Indochina war to an end. One tends to forget that it was styled the "Far Eastern conference" and that peace in Korea was an item in the agenda. The Communist side had been beaten to a standstill in the Korean War, though not defeated. No progress was made on the Korean issue because the best the Communist side could hope for was to keep what it already had: the Communist republic north of the 38th Parallel. There was no victory to consecrate by a formal accord.

In Indochina, however, the French position worsened dramatically four weeks after the conference had begun, with the fall of the isolated fortress of Dienbienphu—a catastrophe for French morale. When Pierre Mendès-France came to power determined to end it all—that is, to concede defeat—the talks made rapid progress. The only surprise, really, was that the Vietminh were denied their claim to about two-thirds of Vietnam.

Who thwarted them? Unexpectedly, the Russians did. They had made the Communist victory possible, as they did in the second Indochina war, by providing the modern weaponry. But they had no doubt that in time the whole of Vietnam (and Laos and Cambodia) would come under Communist rule. At that time, Stalin's successors had a higher priority than Vietnam, which was to defeat the Allied attempt to set up a European Defense Community. Mendès-France detested the EDC concept anyway, mainly because as a Jew he could not stomach the idea of welcoming German soldiers in arms so soon after the Nazi-made Holocaust. So he made a deal with Molotov. The Communists would only get about half of Vietnam, north of the 17th Parallel; in return, Mendès-France would see to it that the EDC project was defeated in the French parliament. Which it was. Successful end to negotiations.

### *Achtung! SALT III*

The Laos conference was similar to the Geneva conference of 1954 in that the Communist side improved its position while the talks went on; which was relatively easy as they operated from safe bases in North Vietnam. Intent on getting the eight hundred American advisors out of Laos, the Vietnamese Communists prolonged the talks for weeks with their insistence that there was nobody from their side in that country.

In the end, the conference "succeeded" because the Americans were tired of the Laotian mess and wanted out. Having at last reluctantly admitted that there might be "a few" Vietnamese Communists in Laos (by inadvertence, as it were), the Communists agreed to withdraw those "few" if the Americans got out. The Americans thereupon departed; and the Vietnamese Reds stayed.

The Westerners congratulated themselves on having resolved the conflict (read: got themselves off the hook), and the Communists chalked up a victory.

We should be duly on our guard against this kind of success in the post-Helsinki talks and others in the offing, such as resumed arms control negotiations at the end of this year. □



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MARKETS AND MINORITIES

*A noted economist finds that government can do more to harm minority groups than to help them—and the more they rely on it, the more harm it can do*

# The Uses of Government for Racial Equality

THOMAS SOWELL

GOVERNMENT HAS three roles in the economy that bear on the economic fate of ethnic minorities: 1) government provides a legal framework within which transactors can make their own economic (and other) decisions; 2) government can reduce the options available to the transactors; and 3) government can redistribute the fruits of economic transactions.

Government is inextricably bound up with politics, even in non-democratic nations. Therefore, the role of government is greatly influenced by the incentives and constraints facing those individuals who pursue politics as a career. This simple fact is often overlooked in policy discussions in which the government is treated as if it were an external agency correcting the deficiencies of other institutions—more or less "the public interest" personified. While public spirit and self-sacrifice have characterized some statesmen, to expect these to be the sole or dominant incentives among political decision-makers as a whole is to ignore thousands of years of human history.

The diffusion of knowledge and the concentration of power can be reconciled by having economic decisions made by individual transactors, with the terms agreed upon being enforced by the government. In addition to these explicitly contractual agreements, there are universally shared desires—such as security of persons and belongings—which can be treated as implicit contracts to be enforced by the government. Depending upon the specific nature of the government, the population (or segments thereof) may have more or fewer "rights"—meaning, empirically, options for which government force is available to the individual.

The stable framework of behavioral expectations provided by government enables individuals to interact with less fear of physical or economic harm from one another, fewer and less costly precautions, and more willingness to undertake joint actions whose benefits will accrue in the future. Much of this beneficial effect comes from the stability of the framework rather than the intrinsic merits of its specific provisions. For example, driving on the right-hand side of the road may be no more advantageous than driving on the left-hand side of the road, but either system may be far preferable to ad-hoc decisions by each driver.

In the case of low-income ethnic groups attempting to rise, the degree of stability of the government-provided framework is especially important. Typically, low-income ethnic groups are relative newcomers—either to the country or (in the case of blacks or American Indians) to the urban economy and society. It is difficult enough to adjust to a new situation, but adjusting to a situation that is itself continually changing is obviously even more of a problem. To what extent has the government maintained stable "rules of the game," within which ethnic minorities could adjust? A brief historical sketch of the experience of American blacks may suggest some of the problems.

Initially, in the early seventeenth century, Africans brought to the United States became indentured servants, like most white immigrants, and were freed at the end of a few years. Somewhere around the middle of the seventeenth century, this was changed to perpetual slavery. Free blacks in the early seventeenth century had essentially the same rights as their white contemporaries, but these rights came to be taken away, one by one, with the development of slavery and its attendant efforts to control and humble the entire black population. In the post-Revolutionary War era, slavery was abolished in the North, and restrictions on "free persons of color" were relaxed. But within a generation, new government restrictions began to be imposed on the occupations, mobility, legal status, etc. of free Negroes.

The enforcement of these state laws was highly varied with respect to both time and place. Free blacks were voting, even in some Southern states, in the 1820s; by the mid-nineteenth century, all Southern and even many Northern states were barring blacks from voting—but in less than a genera-

*Mr. Sowell is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. His previous publications include* Knowledge and Decisions, Race and Economics, *and* Black Education: Myths and Tragedies. *His two newest books are* Ethnic America *and* Markets and Minorities, *both of which are about to be published by Basic Books. This article is adapted from* Markets and Minorities.



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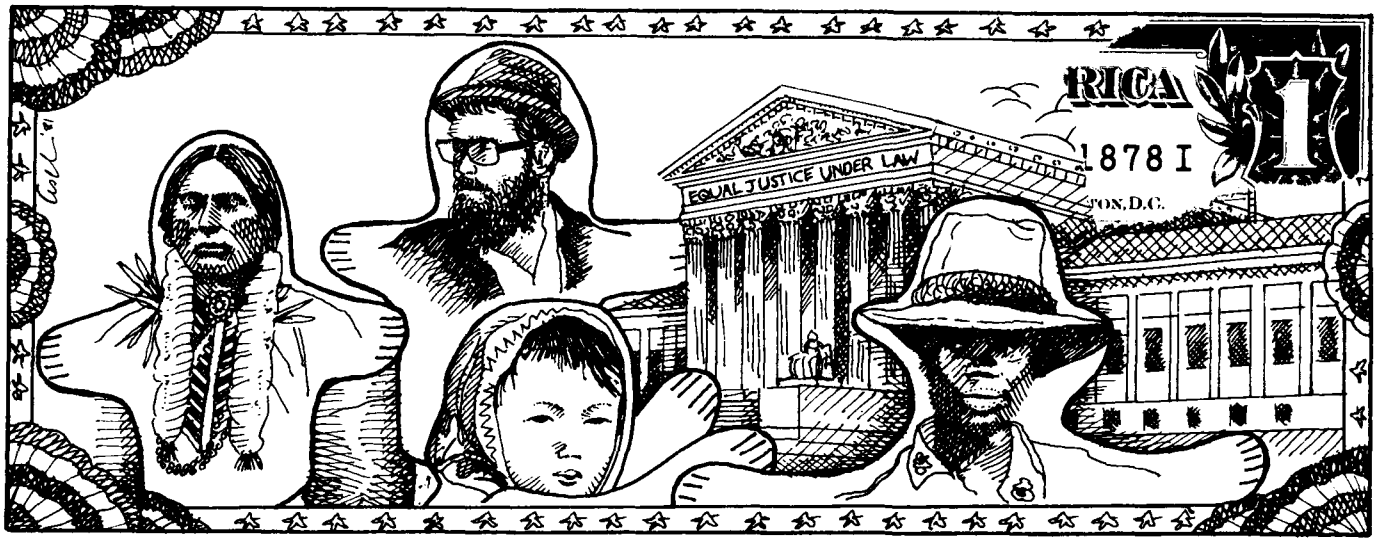


tion these laws were repealed. In the South, Reconstruction saw blacks holding political office on a large scale, from local officials to members of the United States Congress. Just one generation later, Jim Crow laws and extra-legal terrorism against black voters almost totally eliminated black officials from Southern political life. In the national government, the slow progress of black employees over the decades was suddenly reversed by the Woodrow Wilson Administration, which introduced segregation among federal employees and began a drastic cutback of blacks in nonmenial jobs. In the War of 1812, Commodore Perry's crew had been one-fourth black, but by the 1920s there was not one black sailor in the U.S. Navy. In the 1930s, the New Deal began a slow reversal again, toward better treatment of blacks—a pattern that is now a little more than a generation old.

In broad historical terms, government has changed the rules of the game for blacks in virtually every generation. These have been fundamental changes stretching across the spectrum from education to housing to jobs to voting. Nor has the case of blacks been unique. The changing interpretations and violations of Indian treaties are an historical scandal. With respect to European immigrants, the largest and most open migration in human history was brought to a screeching halt in the 1920s. Japanese-Americans, who were initially welcomed as workers in California in the nineteenth century, were later segregated in the schools, barred from numerous occupations, forbidden to own land, locked up en masse during World War II—and then, in less than a decade, all these trends reversed. Residential segregation of Orientals collapsed; high rates of intermarriage with whites followed, along with national political office-holding—and then Orientals even started to receive preferential treatment as members of "disadvantaged" minorities, while earning above-average incomes.

The point here is not so much the individual merits or demerits of these various policies considered in isolation. The point is the sheer *volatility* of government policy toward ethnic minorities.

Similar patterns have occurred in other multi-ethnic societies. Political authorities in many countries have turned against ethnic minorities who had been allowed to prosper in peace. The brutal mass expulsion of East Indians under the Amin regime in Uganda, the slaughter of the Ibos in Nigeria, and the severe current official discrimination against the Chinese in Indonesia are recent examples of a pattern of volatile government policy changes toward minorities that goes back for centuries. Historically, Germany was one of the most open, tolerant, and favorable countries in the world for Jews—until the generation of Hitler and the Holocaust. American Jews were so favorably disposed toward Germany as of World War I that the U.S. Government cracked down on Jewish newspapers in the United States on grounds of undermining the war effort. From World War I to World War II was less than a quarter of a century.

In view of this unpredictability, it is perhaps unsurprising that some of the most dramatic rises from poverty to affluence in the United States have been among groups that did *not* attempt to use the political route to economic advancement—notably the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Jews. Chinese-American leaders long ago made a deliberate decision to keep out of the political arena and concentrate on economic progress. Conversely, the group with the longest and most intimate involvement with the U.S. Government —American Indians, especially on reservations—has long been at the bottom of the economic ladder by such indices as family income or unemployment rates, not to mention restrictions on the use of their own property and other paternalistic policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The most politically successful American ethnic group—the Irish—was also the slowest rising of the nineteenth century European immigrant groups.

Nevertheless, it is taken as axiomatic in many quarters that political action is the key to economic advance. Even writers who use the recent economic advancement of blacks through government policy as proof of the power of group political action nevertheless note—as an isolated curiosity —that Northern blacks have had *declining* voter registration and voter turnout since 1940. Southern blacks of course vote much more often than before—but this is a consequence rather than a cause of Federal Government policy.



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At particular historical junctures, government policy may be beneficial to particular ethnic groups. It is the long-run reliance on political action that is questionable in view of the unpredictability of political trends in general. It has been said that in politics "overnight is a lifetime."

Even in governmental institutions less subject to electoral pressures—the Supreme Court, for example—profound changes can take place in a span that is relatively short in historical perspective. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, advocates of the cause of blacks looked upon the Supreme Court as a bitter enemy rather than a protector of rights—and decisions from *Dred Scott* in 1857 to *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* in 1896 gave ample support to this view.* However, in the twentieth century, the Supreme Court has become the primary hope of civil-rights advocates. Within an even shorter time frame, restrictive covenants were upheld by the Supreme Court in 1926 and declared unconstitutional just 22 years later. The same attorney who attacked restrictive covenants before the Supreme Court in 1926 defended school segregation before that Court in 1954. In short, the supposedly stable legal and constitutional framework is also subject to drastic changes, which are still more common in electoral politics.

Economic analysis would lead us to expect that people could more fully satisfy their own respective preferences with a larger set of options, where the larger set includes all the items in a smaller set. Yet there are many government policies, laws, and regulations whose effect is simply to reduce existing options without adding any new ones. Minimum-wage laws, rent control, and interest-rate ceilings, for example, simply outlaw certain ranges of transactions terms. Housing codes, occupational-licensing laws, or Jim Crow laws make certain kinds of transactions illegal, regardless of their terms. None of these laws and policies add any options. They simply remove some existing options.

In housing, such government programs as "slum clearance" or urban renewal have been justified by studies showing former slum-dwellers living in "better" housing. But this is no new option. Slum-dwellers always had the option of moving into better housing, at the sacrifice of some non-housing goods they were purchasing. All "slum clearance" has done is force them to make a trade-off they did not want to make—i.e., to become worse off by their own preference standards.

In special circumstances, the negative effects of some transactions on non-transacting parties may justify option-reduction applied to transactors—precisely in order that the excluded preferences of non-transactors be taken into account. Air and water pollution are classic examples of these external effects. In such cases, there is no net reduction of options of all the affected parties, even though the options of the immediate transactors may be reduced. Housing has sometimes been alleged to be another case of external effects: "Slums breed crime."

That criminality and slums have gone together down through history is demonstrable, but the direction of causation is by no means clear. The same attitudes that create crime may also create slums. It is not a question of which theory sounds more plausible *a priori* but 1) what different consequences follow from the two different theories, and 2) which set of consequences is found in factual data. To make such an empirical test possible, "slums" must be defined as neighborhoods with structures of given physical characteristics, independently of the amount of crime taking place there. It is possible to make "Slums breed crime" a circular conclusion by simply defining physically rundown buildings or neighborhoods without high crime rates as not "really" slums. The great problem with circular statements is that what they are explicitly saying—which is nothing—is irrefutable, while what they are insinuating may be fraught with meaning and completely wrong.

As the proportion of physically substandard housing units declined in the 1960s, crime rates soared. New York's Chinatown once had one of the lowest crime rates in the city, despite having older and more rundown buildings than Harlem. The later crime increase in New York's Chinatown—and Chinatowns in other cities—was not associated with housing deterioration but with the arrival of new Chinese immigrants from a different culture in Hong Kong.

The central role of people and their values—rather than physical surroundings—raises the question of whether much of the physical deterioration is not itself a result of the same set of values, or lack of values. Brand-new government housing projects around the country have become instant slums as former slum-dwellers moved in. All the characteristics of old-fashioned slums—filth, noise, violence, and physical destruction of property—have reappeared in government housing projects. Even such a zealous nineteenth century reformer as Jacob Riis, who called slums "nurseries of crime," also noted that some people "carry their slums with them wherever they go."

**It is by no means clear that the Jews' understanding of their situation was not at least as good as that of the reformers**

In labor markets as well as in housing markets, government reduces options in general—and the options of low-income ethnic groups in particular. In the nineteenth century, in major American cities, the lowest jobs, as well as the worst slum housing, belonged almost exclusively to the various immigrant groups from Europe. On the West Coast, such jobs and such housing were also the fate of immigrants from China, and in the South they were the fate of newly freed blacks.

Government regulation of labor markets has included occupational-licensing laws, minimum-wage laws, regulation of working conditions, and child-labor laws. Such laws harm low-income ethnic groups in their role as less skilled or less productive workers for whatever reason (inexperience; cultural patterns at variance with industrial requirements

*In the former case, the Supreme Court ruled that Dred Scott, a slave, did not become free by being taken into a free territory, despite Congress's outlawing of slavery in the territory under the Missouri Compromise. In the latter case, the Court ruled that "separate but equal" facilities were constitutional.



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of punctuality, discipline, cooperation; etc.). Restrictive occupational-licensing laws also reduce the employer's cost of discrimination by creating a surplus of job applicants. In addition, occupational-licensing standards may themselves be discriminatory. According to Walter Williams, in the 1930s, when many skilled Jewish refugees were entering the United States, "a U.S. citizenship requirement was added to most occupational-licensure laws." In the South around the turn of the century, according to Lorenzo Greene and Carter Woodson, licensing examinations for black plumbers were conducted by white examiners, who almost invariably "failed" them, even though the same individual blacks "have easily met the requirements elsewhere." With the rise of government-supported labor unions that have complete dominance over particular occupations—notably in the railroads and the construction trades—union membership was tantamount to occupational licensing, and was used to keep out (or drive out) blacks.

In both the craft-union situation and explicit occupational licensing, the turning over of governmental powers to private interests was the key to the effectiveness of the exclusion. Occupational-licensing boards are almost invariably in the hands of existing practitioners. With the Wagner Act in 1935, the government made employer recognition of existing employees' unions mandatory, and therefore put into the hands of incumbent workers the power to exclude other workers.

Government control of working conditions would seem to be racially and ethnically neutral, but historically its impact has been quite different for different groups, regardless of whether or not this was the intent. In the nineteenth century, the prime target of government regulation of working conditions was the "sweatshop," where long hours in run-down buildings were the rule. The sweatshop workers were almost entirely immigrants, and the classic examples were the sweatshops employing Jewish workers on the Lower East Side of New York. Again, the government did nothing directly to create better conditions—that would have cost vast sums of money—but instead simply outlawed some existing conditions, or reduced the options open to the transactors.

One of the other options was to have the work performed in the home, where it was more difficult for government inspectors to monitor hours or working conditions. A contemporary account of a typical nineteenth century East Side tenement mentioned, along with "smells of cabbage, onions, or frying fish" on every floor, also "whirring sewing machines behind closed doors, betraying what goes on within . . ." Men, women, and children worked long hours in their homes. But, although reformers and historians have spoken of this as "exploitation," they also acknowledged that 1) the sweatshop owners themselves made little money, and 2) among the Jewish workers on New York's Lower East Side the long hours were hardly necessary to keep body and soul together despite the low pay, "more than half of which goes into the bank." In short, notwithstanding the sinister innuendos and indignant language which have become standard in describing this situation, the actual evidence suggests nothing more than employers and employees making the most of such limited options as they had, given the technology, skill, and wealth at their disposal. Government added to none of these three requisites, but only reduced the ability of its intended beneficiaries to optimize according to their own knowledge and preferences. In view of the later economic progress of Jews, it is by no means clear that their understanding of their situation was not at least as good as that of the reformers, who tried vainly to stop them from doing what they felt they had to do.

Nor is it obvious that the greater success of twentieth century reformers in forcing contemporary low-income minority youths out of the labor force has been a blessing, especially given the evidence of a correlation between unemployment among youths and crime. These reform efforts have included not only control of working conditions, but also compulsory school attendance laws which make full-time work illegal for those of school age.

Here, at least, the claim can be made that the government adds to the available options by providing schooling free of charge to the users. However, the forced retention of teenagers who do not want to be in school is hardly costless to the other students, or to the process of education. A study of changes in the compulsory attendance law in Britain showed that the oldest group retained in school had the highest delinquency rate, both before and after that age was raised—13-year-olds before, and 14-year-olds after. It was apparently not the fact of being age 13 or 14 that was crucial—it was the length of time of forcible retention past the point where the process had become counterproductive for both the student and the school.

It is often taken as axiomatic that more time in school is "a good thing"—virtually without limit, in defiance of the economic logic of diminishing returns and of inherent trade-offs between one good and another. But, once the trade-off idea is accepted, it is easy to understand that the terms of trade-off may differ from individual to individual and from group to group, implying that different amounts of schooling may be optimal in different circumstances. Moreover, those closest to the situation—the parents and children—may have more knowledge of their options than distant social theorists. But when the decision as to length of schooling is made by third-party observers and enforced by government, it is more likely to reflect some crude com-

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promise between what the poor prefer and what the middle-class prefer—very much like "decent housing."

Insofar as such reform efforts are spearheaded by the educated, and by educators—and seconded by labor unions, with a vested interest in restricting the labor supply—the tendency of compulsory attendance laws is to keep youths in school well past the point where they and their parents would have preferred that they be working. Evidence for this hypothesis includes high rates of both truancy and in-school delinquency in low-income ethnic neighborhoods—much more than in past periods, when the school-leaving age was lower.

Why have government policies—whether discriminatory or preferential—had less impact than anticipated? The uniform transactions terms (including no transactions in some high-level positions) preferred by a discriminatory government are almost certain to differ from the variety of transactions terms preferred by individuals in differing circumstances and with preferences differing both from one another's and from the government's. Moreover, economic competition especially rewards those who find cheaper ways to produce, or ways to make more sales—including producing with proscribed workers and selling to proscribed customers (racial "block-busting" in real estate, for example). Those potential transactors facing the greatest barriers tend to offer the most favorable terms, agreeing to work for lower wages or to pay higher rents.

Monitoring millions of individual transactors who have incentives to circumvent government policy is a formidable task in any context (cf. Prohibition). Even in South Africa, restrictive laws to exclude black workers from various higher positions have been eroded. To maintain apartheid effectively in the economy, the government has had to resort to laws which appear on the surface to be non-racial—minimum-wage laws and equal-pay laws—but which serve the key purpose of reducing the costs of monitoring compliance, by eliminating the incentive to evade the discrimination policies. It is relatively easy to monitor observance of wage minima and equal pay for equal work, and insofar as this is done it is far less necessary to monitor hiring practices; the incentive to hire native Africans is eliminated once their pay has been raised to parity with Europeans'.

"Equal-opportunity" laws and policies—hiring "without regard" to race, color, or nationality—represent less interference with ordinary economic incentives than either discriminatory or preferential policies. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that they seem more effective. Black income as a percentage of white income rose significantly after passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—whether because of that Act or because the changed public opinion which made the Act possible also made possible a reduction in hiring discrimination. There were many independent contemporary indications of changed public opinion on race and ethnicity.

The redistribution of income by the government is one area in which political activity seems most promising for low-income minorities. However, even here the picture is not nearly as clear-cut as it might appear, for a number of reasons:

1. The great variety of progressive and regressive government transfers makes their net effects uncertain.
2. The money taken from the taxpayers for the benefit of the poor does not in fact all go to the poor.
3. Transfers are not simply added to the earnings the recipient would have otherwise; remaining below some officially defined level of income is a pre-condition for receiving many forms of government transfer payments, and transfers are reduced as earnings increase.
4. When losses of earnings owing to various other government programs are balanced against income transfers, it is uncertain whether there are any net gains.

Historically, governments have subsidized many activities from which ethnic minorities were officially excluded or which they did not use for various other reasons. The antebellum "free persons of color," for example, were taxed to support public schools from which their own children were excluded. Various Catholic ethnic groups have also been taxed for public schools that their children did not attend. While in their case the non-use of public schools was voluntary, in some nineteenth century schools the religious emphasis was so heavily Protestant that many Catholic parents felt that they simply had to educate their children elsewhere.

**The amount necessary to lift every American above the poverty level is *one-third* of what is being spent on poverty programs**

A wide variety of goods and services rarely used by low-income ethnic groups are subsidized by government out of taxes to which those people contribute—recreational land use, airport facilities, maritime subsidies, state universities, federal grants to higher education, tax shelters of many sorts, etc. On the other hand, a disproportionate share of welfare and public housing goes to low-income minorities. What is the net? *We do not know*. Different methods of computing it give different results. A revealing study of government money flowing in and out of a low-income black ghetto in Washington, D.C. showed that there was an outflow of $50 million in taxes, so that—despite huge welfare payments and expenditures on the public schools, as part of nearly $46 million of government spending there—this ghetto *lost* more than $4 million on net balance. A cessation of all government transfers would have somewhat alleviated rather than aggravated its poverty.

The amount necessary to lift every man, woman, and child in America above the poverty line has been calculated, and it is *one-third* of what is in fact spent on poverty programs. Clearly, much of the transfer ends up in the pockets of highly paid administrators, consultants, and staff as well as higher-income recipients of benefits from programs advertised as anti-poverty efforts.

In order to qualify for many government programs, one

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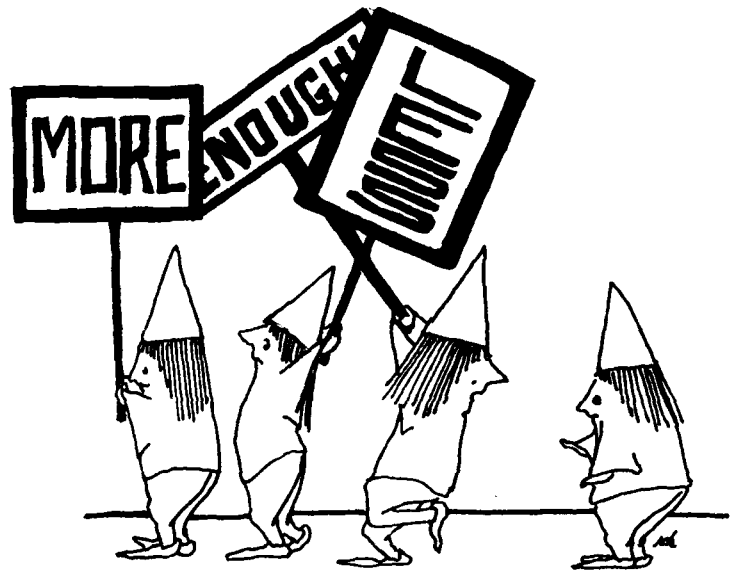
# help !!!!

## Analogy-Crazy

Some say it's '33 and then
Sing, "Happy Days Are Here Again."
I always smile and go along,
In part because I like the song,
But also, if they wallow in
What never was or might have been,
I hate to say that they're a bore—
Unless they bring up Eleanor.

W. H. VON DREELE




*"This time, we'll strike it rich!"*

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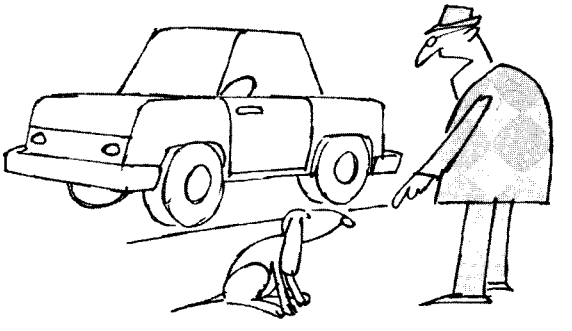
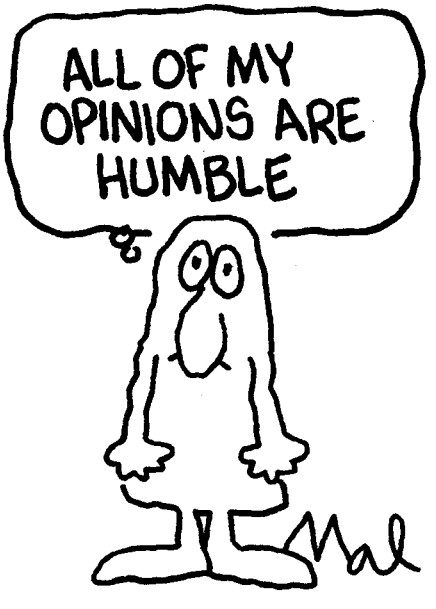
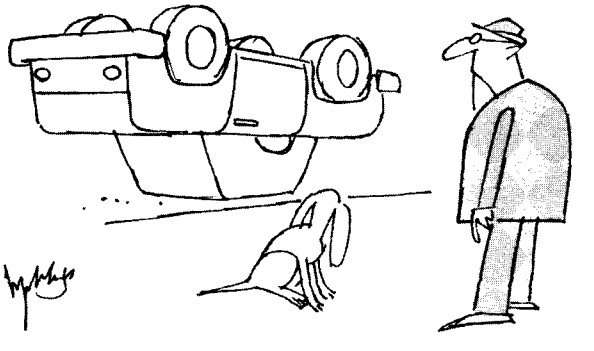


"Roll over."





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must be unemployed, earning below the official poverty level, or otherwise disadvantaged. This provides incentives to forgo present earnings—and in the process to forgo human capital formation for the future. The government money currently received is not all net gain.

Finally, minorities are, by definition, only part of a larger society, and many other groups with claims on government receive concessions whose economic impacts on minorities may offset all transfers put together. To make a very rough estimate of just one government activity, take the restrictive licensing of taxicabs. The number of taxis in Los Angeles is only one-15th the number of taxis in Washington, D.C., even though Los Angeles is more than seven times the size of the nation's capital. If there were only five times as many taxis in Los Angeles as there are under restrictive licensing, that would mean thousands more jobs for which low-income minority members would be eligible instantly. When one considers that there are approximately three thousand licensed occupations, the impact of this one government restriction looms very large.

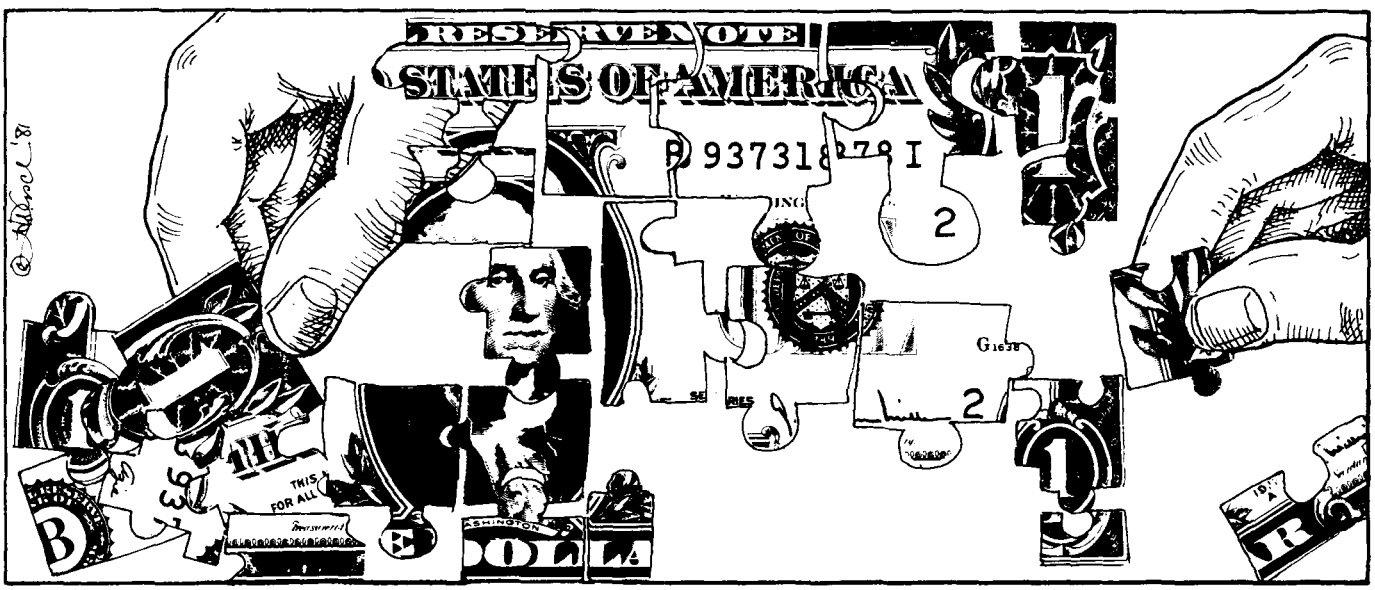
In the many kinds of economic transactions discussed here, we have been trying to understand emotionally charged social phenomena in cause-and-effect terms. Within that framework, we have been comparing the results under voluntary economic transactions ("the market") and when governmental action ("intervention") forces, penalizes, or subsidizes decisions different from those which the transactors would have preferred.

The many instances in which laws, regulations, and other governmental restrictions have produced economically detrimental results for various ethnic groups do not necessarily imply any special ineptness or depravity on the part of government officials. In many cases, the intention has been to benefit ethnic groups considered to need aid or protection. But even in those cases where the intention has been to thwart the advance of particular ethnic groups—the Chinese or Japanese, for example—the efforts have also largely failed.

Consistently ineffective or counterproductive actions—from minimum-wage laws to housing regulations—suggest inherent limitations on what government can achieve. These have generally been limitations of knowledge rather than power. The massive amounts of knowledge needed to coordinate a complex modern economy simply do not exist in any one place or with any small, manageable group of people. This knowledge consists not only of standardized generalities but also of innumerable particulars, including group capabilities, weaknesses, and aversions. Economists' convenient assumptions of homogeneous people without special traits or preferences are useful simplifications for many kinds of analyses. However, these postulates assume away the very particulars that define ethnicity.

Once having waved aside all differences between people, social analysts are then left with no real explanation of intergroup differences in income, occupation, residential pattern, or other socioeconomic outcomes. Only evil intentions —discrimination, racism, "exploitation"—are left as possible explanations. The general existence of sin among human beings virtually ensures that examples can always be found of bad behavior toward particular groups. The cause-and-effect question, however, is: To what extent are the various groups' economic conditions a function of others' sins? The presence of Jewish- and Japanese-Americans at the top of the income rankings must undermine any simplistic theory that discrimination is an overwhelming determinant of socioeconomic position. It would be inexplicable how these groups could have higher incomes than Anglo-Saxons, given the well-documented record of antisemitism and anti-Oriental feelings, policies, and laws. Conversely, the unrelenting struggle of the Catholic Church to improve the behavior and values of the Irish and other nineteenth century immigrants, or the heroic efforts of the missionary teachers who went South after the Civil War to educate the newly freed blacks, would be inexplicable if majority prejudices were all that mattered.

Economic analysis offers no way to make human beings morally better, kinder, or more tolerant toward those different from themselves. What it does offer is insight into the way different economic institutions affect the well-being of human beings as they are. □



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BOURGEOIS VALUES

*It's not that they were unhappy, exactly, to have him turn up alive. It's just that in certain Catholic circles Father Bourgeois was now a martyr manqué. Back to the drawing boards on El Salvador*

# Praise the Left and Pass the Ammunition

RICHARD T. REED

THE DISAPPEARANCE of 42-year-old Maryknoll Father Roy Bourgeois in El Salvador on April 26 touched off widespread fears that he had been kidnapped or killed. As reported by the major news organizations, it was assumed that the priest, who vanished for 11 days after leaving his hotel in the capital city of San Salvador, had fallen victim to what might be called renegade elements of the Salvadoran government's security forces—the notorious "death squads."

A conspicuous catalyst of this assumption was Fr. Bourgeois's own Maryknoll order, which scrambled to lay his disappearance at the doorstep of the embattled Salvadoran junta held together by President José Napoleon Duarte. "We ask for prayers for Fr. Bourgeois and his family and we ask especially for the people of El Salvador who are being tortured and murdered daily by forces aligned with their own government," intoned the Superior General, Father James P. Noonan, in a statement issued from Maryknoll headquarters on April 28. Fr. Noonan subsequently hastened to El Salvador to investigate the situation himself, maintaining that he was "as certain as one can be that he [Fr. Bourgeois] didn't disappear of his own free will. This would be utterly contrary to his mode of action. He would not do this to Maryknoll."

Similar sentiments emanated from Chicago, where Fr. Bourgeois is based. He is assigned to the Maryknoll development house there and had become something of a local celebrity through his activities on behalf of the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador (CRTFES). CRTFES spokeswoman Renny Golden declared: "It has been said that Fr. Bourgeois left his hotel to get medicine. We believe that he was taken from his hotel. . . . That he wandered out of the hotel is completely out of character for him." Another CRTFES statement added, "We strongly suspect the story of Roy's leaving the hotel alone is a fabrication of persons who were assigned to accompany the [Chicago station WBBM] TV crew by the Salvadoran government." The TV station had flown Fr. Bourgeois to El Salvador on April 23 to act as translator for its news crew there—and also, Station Manager Peter Lund reports, because he could get the news team in touch with the insurgent forces; Fr. Bourgeois was a "field contact" for covering the rebels' story.

A more strident note was struck by Sister Kathy Romano, a representative of the floating Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the sponsoring organization for the May 3 demonstration held at the Pentagon to protest U.S. support of the Duarte government. "Along with Maryknoll, we are asking concerned people to send telegrams to the Salvadoran Embassy in Washington, D.C.; to El Salvadoran President Duarte and the generals of the junta in San Salvador with copies to Haig at our State Department," stated Sr. Romano. "The telegrams should demand that Fr. Bourgeois's whereabouts be made known, his safety guaranteed, and that he be released immediately."

EVEN BEFORE this call was issued, both U.S. senators from Massachusetts had risen to the occasion by wiring President Duarte their expression of concern over Fr. Bourgeois's fate. Initiated by Senator Paul Tsongas and co-signed by Senator Edward Kennedy, the April 28 telegram urged President Duarte to "commit your government's full resources to a thorough investigation of this disturbing episode. . . . Decisive action taken by your government is the only hope for this man's safe return." Perhaps taking their cue from Fr. Noonan, Senators Tsongas and Kennedy made no acknowledgment of the possibility that Fr. Bourgeois "might have secretly joined the guerrillas," a statement which on April 28 was attributed to Duarte by CBS News. Their reticence was rewarded when a spokesman for Duarte subsequently denied that the President had made such a remark.

The concern for Fr. Bourgeois reached a crescendo at the Pentagon demonstration itself. Among the various and mostly left-leaning luminaries who spoke at the rally was Maryknoll Sister Geraldine Blake, who boasted of the order's "sacred call to accompany the people of Central America, whether in victory or in struggle, in their process toward liberation. We hope to accompany them as participants, rather than as leaders."

At that time, things looked bleak indeed for the missing priest. The deathwatch was set in absentia as the Maryknollers and their sympathizers hunkered down to wait for the body to show up.

*Mr. Reed is a staff writer for Accuracy in Media.*



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In the early evening of May 6, it did show up, at the gates of the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador. Officials at the Embassy noted that the body was warm, upright, and animated, and correctly deduced that it was alive.

Fr. Bourgeois's Lazarus-like return from the dead was hailed by relieved Maryknollers. "Thank God our prayers were answered," said Fr. Ronald Succi from headquarters in Ossining, N.Y. As it happens, though, Fr. Bourgeois's return cannot be attributed to divine intervention. As duly noted by the scribes summoned to the U.S. Embassy, Fr. Bourgeois had been on a pilgrimage, a "Walk with the Poor" to "take testimony" which might back up his conviction that the U.S. has no business supporting the Duarte government. In fact, that he succeeded in corroborating his beliefs through contact with the Salvadoran countryfolk might in no small way be due to the potentially intimidating presence of up to three leftist bodyguards.

Although the Maryknoll order has officially dissociated itself from Fr. Bourgeois's underground adventures, it must find the results of his sampling of public opinion comforting, if not an outright blessing. "Every peaceful means for change has been exhausted," Fr. Bourgeois said. "I recognize their struggle as just, though I personally would not bear arms." Fr. Bourgeois told of people laughing at him when he asked about Marxist and Communist influence among the poor: "They said, 'We don't need Communists or Marxists to tell us we are hungry.'" Then he delivered the verdict: "There is another Vietnam, and it is in El Salvador."

But before Fr. Bourgeois's findings can be accepted, the manner in which he disappeared, and the motives behind his disappearance, must be explored.

That he was already in sympathy with the rebels is beyond doubt. A May 8 editorial in the *Chicago Catholic*, the archdiocesan publication, notes that Fr. Bourgeois's name had been in the local news on a number of occasions because of his outspoken criticism of the Salvadoran government. A letter he carried out of the hotel in San Salvador clearly proclaimed his support of the insurgents. "After much reflection and prayer, I have decided to join with the poor of El Salvador in their struggle for justice and peace. While I recognize that the armed struggle of the Salvadoran people is justified, I personally cannot and will not take up arms." The letter continues, "It hurts me deeply to know that my country, the United States, is supplying military advisors and arms to a repressive dictatorship at war with its own people. I ask the people of the United States to join with our brothers and sisters of El Salvador to do everything it can to prevent the military intervention of the United States in this country. We need rice and beans—not weapons." The letter concludes with the observation that "The problem in El Salvador is not Communism. Rather, it is a situation where poor and oppressed people are struggling for food."

That was Fr. Bourgeois's mind-set at the time he left his hotel, so there is ample room to speculate that a desire to embarrass the Duarte government lay behind the clandestine nature of his disappearance and prolonged absence.

Fr. Bourgeois claimed that the letter announcing his intentions was supposed to have been made public soon after his disappearance. The fact that it was not delivered to anyone outside his escorting guerrilla network until just three hours before the priest reappeared in San Salvador was dismissed as an unfortunate circumstance beyond his control. There are no reports in the press of anyone's having asked the obvious question: Why didn't he simply leave the letter behind in his room; or, if he needed more time to get to the countryside, why didn't he mail it? Fr. Paul Newpower of Maryknoll headquarters, who was "briefed" by Fr. Bourgeois upon his return to the U.S., suggested that mail delivery in El Salvador might be too slow. However, officials at the Salvadoran Embassy in Washington assert that their country's postal service can deliver a letter within San Salvador in a day or two. When informed of this, Fr. Newpower said Fr. Bourgeois was adamant in his desire for the letter to reach the public immediately after his disappearance and is really sorry that it didn't. Just one of those things . . .

ANOTHER DETAIL which seems to have escaped media scrutiny is the report that the priest, on leaving the Hotel El Camino Real, went out of his way to tell someone (there were conflicting accounts as to whether it was the clerk at the front desk or the TV crew's Salvadoran driver) that he was going out to buy some stomach medicine and would return in thirty minutes. When he did *not* return, this courteous gesture helped fuel the trendy assumption that he had been snatched away by prowling thugs belonging to El Salvador's security forces. If an explanation was asked for by the press, the account is very hard to find. Fr. Newpower's explanation—that Fr. Bourgeois was not yet sure he would be leaving for the countryside at that time—is plausible, but not satisfying.

The very existence of the letter of intent shows that some degree of planning went into the "pilgrimage." If Fr. Bourgeois indeed was not sure exactly when he was going to bolt, by all accounts he knew he was going to have to make his move very soon.

Joan Zucker, a spokeswoman for WBBM-TV, said the field-crew—including Fr. Bourgeois—was scheduled to leave El Salvador on Monday, April 27. Fr. Noonan reports that Fr. Bourgeois told him he was contacted by members of the leftist guerrilla forces and invited to visit the countryside with them on the day preceding his disappearance.

*(Continues on page 1039)*



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LETTER FROM LONDON

# A Social Democratic England?

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

"Social Democrat" was a name originally used by Leninists to distinguish themselves from mere bourgeois democrats. Time has reversed the meaning; Social Democrats today, particularly in Britain where the term is only now being institutionalized, are socialists of the milder sort, who wish to distinguish themselves from Marxists. Britain's new Social Democratic Party is a breakaway from the right wing of the Labor Party, a direct response to the fact that the Labor Party is being increasingly taken over by the hard Left.

The world's press and television cameras descended on the drab northern town of Warrington in July because, in a special election made necessary by the appointment of the sitting Member of Parliament to a judgeship, the Social Democrats entered the field for the first time. It was Roy Jenkins, who used to be a senior Labor cabinet minister, who carried their flag. The London *Times* described it as "the by-election of the century."

The outcome is generally considered to have been appropriately sensational. Mr. Jenkins didn't quite win; Warrington is too solidly Labor for that. But he came a close second, with 42 per cent of the poll. The Conservative, with only 7 per cent, was driven into a humiliating third place.

The Social Democrats have formed an alliance with the rump Liberal Party, and some Conservatives too may have voted for Mr. Jenkins in the hope of defeating the Labor candidate, who (although he was carefully evasive on the subject) is a very left-wing character indeed. Such mid-term elections are not much guide to what will happen at the next general election, but no one can deny that the Social Democrats are now a serious factor. If the Warrington swing were repeated across the country—which, of course, it won't be—the Conservatives would be wiped out, the Labor Party would be cut to ribbons, and Britain would have a Social Democratic government.

Skeptics, especially in the Labor Party, say that the Social Democrats are a creation of the media, a mere fad or fashion which will soon dwindle. They are indeed a middle-class, media-oriented group, but their appeal is not just a matter of novelty value. It reflects the deep disgust of many people at the way in which the party system has been working.

In reality Mr. Jenkins and his colleagues are themselves party politicians of a perfectly orthodox kind, although they would like to do what the Liberals, in their own interest, have long been demanding: introduce proportional representation into the electoral system. If that were done, all future governments would probably have to be coalitions.

Exactly what else the Social Democrats stand for has been difficult to discover. They are certainly in favor of Britain's continued membership in the European Common Market, which the electorate on the whole is not. Their economic views appear to be Keynesian or neo-Keynesian. They support the Western Alliance. Beyond those broad principles, everything else becomes vague. "Politics is about people," they boldly declare. "The welfare state should be more responsive to people's needs," they announce. Words like "participation" and "decentralization" are constantly on their lips. Their most popular member, Mrs. Shirley Williams, who is also an ex-Labor cabinet minister, remains unashamedly a socialist, and would, for example (after a great deal of moral agonizing), like to abolish private education. Mr. Jenkins, on the other hand (who is not much given to moral agonizing), says that he hasn't used the word "socialism" for years.

A lack of precise policies may well seem attractive to voters who have been alienated both by Mrs. Thatcher's apparently unyielding stance and by the ideological extremism of the Labor Left. According to the conventional wisdom, every political party needs to be grounded in a particular interest group, a natural constituency. The Social Democrats are grounded in the woolly constituency, which is very large indeed. "I think I know why people like me," said Shirley Williams recently. "They like me because I listen to them and because I look as crummy as they do." This admitted disorder in her appearance—which provides another sharp contrast with Mrs. Thatcher—reflects a similar messiness in her thinking. And she is probably quite right; people do like her because their own political ideas are equally messy or woolly.

They voted Conservative in 1979 because the price of having a Labor government was becoming too clear. Shocked now by the price of a Conservative government, these people's instinct is to swing back—but preferably not to a Labor Party with policies rendered unequivocal by the new breed of militants. The vagueness of the Social Democrats offers such people a refuge.

The Social Democratic-Liberal alliance will have another electoral opportunity in the Croydon by-election next month, and may quite possibly win. Roy Jenkins once said that they were like an experimental aircraft which might crash at the end of the runway. That hasn't happened: they've plainly taken off: but how much fuel they have, and when they will land, nobody can guess.

Is their arrival on the political scene a good thing or a bad thing for Britain and for Britain's allies? Again there can be no conclusive answer yet. If, by splitting or replacing the Labor Party, they could lift the threat of a dictatorial regime committed to single-chamber government, unilateral disarmament, and an Eastern European-style siege economy, they would confer the greatest possible benefit, removing a constant shadow from the British people. If, on the other hand, by attracting shaky conservatives and woolly middle-of-the-roaders, they were to split the anti-socialist vote and let just such a regime into power, they would have precipitated an irreparable disaster. □

*Mr. Lejeune is NR's man in London.*



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# Abroad

**Madrid** *Seniors*

The re-election of Santiago Carrillo as Secretary General and Dolores Ibarruri as President makes the Spanish Communist Party a museum piece of the extreme Left. For no other CP in the world, and probably no other political organization, has a leadership which stretches so far into the past. Carrillo, who has been Secretary General for over twenty years, was a member of the Party's Politburo as far back as 1936, at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War —the struggle which elevated Ibarruri to her role as La Pasionaria and made her the most famous female Communist to date. Both of them spent the intervening decades in Eastern Europe until the legalization of the Spanish Party brought them back a few years ago. This leadership is, not surprisingly, in trouble with an important segment of the membership, which feels the pull of nationalist tendencies operating within the more moderate left-wing groups. Carrillo is an advocate of "Eurocommunism," but many former militants have accused him of failing to create genuine opposition in Spain. Carrillo was gravely affronted at a recent Party congress in Madrid when one delegate said he would rather live under the regime of General Franco than that of the Eastern European dictatorships.

**Rome** *What the Romans Do*

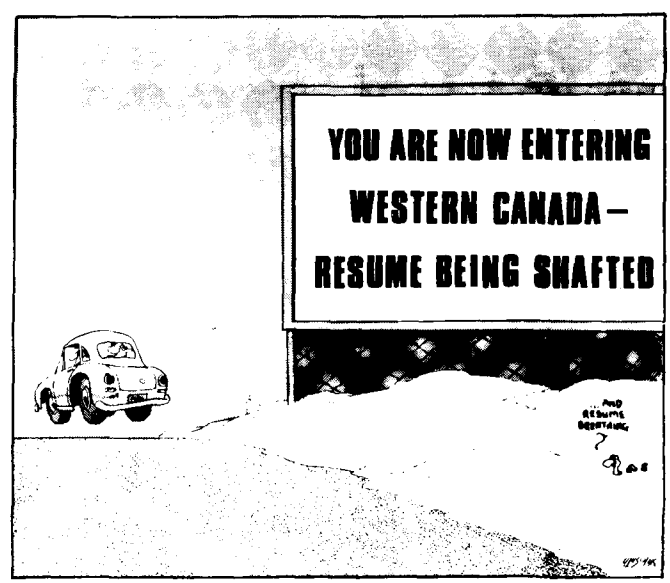
The *Ferragosto* in the middle of August, which every year brings to a halt nearly all activity in the capital and sends Romans scooting for the seashore or the mountains, has brought no peace to the narrow and crowded streets of Rome. Instead, unusually many tourists, stay-behind residents, automobiles, and motorcycles are giving the city an air of unexpected uproar. A classic row is going on over whether an entrepreneur should be allowed to hang a gigantic movie screen on the Arch of Titus and splash cinemascope on the nearby walls of the Colosseum itself from nine in the evening until four in the morning as well as operate a six-thousand-seat restaurant with three dance floors in the hallowed precincts of antique Rome. The entrepreneur is a well-known member of the Communist Party, and his political opponents have denounced the scheme as "administrative and cultural arrogance," designed to provide "an irresponsible and subservient populace with bread and games in order to win their sheep-like political support."

**Moscow** *Dry and Wet*

Bad news about this year's Russian grain harvest continues to circulate here after a long spell of dry, hot weather. Foreign sources have scaled down estimates of this summer's yield from 210 million tons to 200 million, far below the official target of 246 million. In 1980, grain crops totaled only 189.2 million tons, a figure which observers have classified as "disastrous." Harvests in the Communist states of Eastern Europe are also falling short, in this case owing to heavy rains. In Poland, flooding has damaged the winter wheat, and elsewhere critical shortages of fertilizers have been reported. The Elbe and Vltava rivers have flooded cropland and hurt livestock in the Bohemian region of Czechoslovakia. Even in East Germany, which has a relatively technologized agriculture, harvesters have been blocked by water from entering the fields and farmers have had to operate 24-hour-a-day heating sheds to dry reaped crops. Flood damage has extended to homes and factories in the Elbe plain, as well as to open-pit brown lignite mines.

**Port-au-Prince** *Foreign-Aid Chimera*

The attempt to tie foreign aid to restrictions on illegal immigration to the United States is providing substance for some reflection here. Haiti is the most "assisted" country in the hemisphere, 38 per cent of its budget consisting of foreign-aid funds of one sort or another. In addition, "remittances" from the hundreds of thousands of nationals living and working illegally in the United States provide an income of $100 million a year to the Haitian population. And Haiti needs both incomes to survive. The world's first black republic has become an object lesson in foreign-aid administration. For the last 45 years, big projects, small-is-beautiful projects, urban projects, rural projects, private projects, and government projects have made only the most ephemeral difference to the lives and poverty of the six million Haitians. The big difficulty, everyone outside the country agrees, is the corrupt nature of the government, first under the sanguinary dictator François "Papa Doc" Duvalier, and now under his son, Jean-Claude, known as "Bébé Doc." Bébé Doc is said to be a good deal less tyrannical than his progenitor, but there are few signs that foreign help today is any less subject to the graft and misappropriation which have enriched Haiti's governing class for many years. The World Bank estimates that although the per-capita income of Haitians is about $295, half of them, including 85 per cent of those inhabiting rural areas, are subsisting below the "absolute poverty level" of $135 a year.

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NAMIBIA

# A New Game Plan?

JOHN HUTCHINSON

RUNDU, NAMIBIA—President Reagan should appoint his own envoy to Namibia.

The internal American case for a presidential envoy is that while Chester Crocker is possibly the best qualified Assistant Secretary of State for Africa our country has ever had, he has a continent to cover and a gaggle of vanities—on several continents—to assuage; his jurisdiction does not permit the concentration of purpose and action the Namibian problem increasingly requires. He also serves a State Department not noted for its valor on southern Africa, or for its security against leaks.

The case in Namibia for an envoy is that the long-standing UN endorsement of SWAPO (the South West African People's Organization)—a Marxist guerrilla group—is a rigid bar to the UN as a substantial intervenor; that no 11th-hour disavowal of that endorsement will sway the internal skeptics or persuade South Africa into ceding the territory; that no UN-dominated procedure will stop the war; and that neither side will accept the victory of the other should the matter come—most improbably—to an electoral test.

## Build, Don't Destroy

Even any real *prospect* of a controlling UN presence in Namibia will—by rough but responsible estimate by businessmen in Windhoek who want the South Africans gone and the border safe—generate *within the year* a loss of nearly half the national capital and income, a racing slump in credit and massive multiracial defections in debts, and an exodus of some 20 to 40 per cent of the white economic leadership of the country. The economy—joined organically to South Africa's for over half a century—would not survive; what remained of it might well be scorched to the ground by angry trekkers to a friendly border. The larger pretensions of the United Nations are dead.

There is another way—unimpeachably constitutional, liberating, and unifying, and preserving a role for the UN as well as the Western and African nations; however, it would require President Reagan to take a resolving lead. Nobody else can do it.

The first step—and it should be done soon—would be to appoint that presidential envoy. This person should be a citizen of high standing and personal clout, a general at the bargaining table and protean in a fight. John Connally and Robert McNamara are names in the field.

The President's man should establish a presence in Windhoek to survey Namibia's development needs, with heavy emphasis on education and job training; to encourage encounters among the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, other internal parties, SWAPO, and interested African states; and to develop a constitutional proposal.

The great barriers to an agreement are African constitutional history and SWAPO's Marxist protestations—the legacy of massacres and the specter of Communist doctrinal rule. The phoenix of Namibian independence could be reborn overnight if constitutional government—not to speak of three meals a day—were guaranteed for a formative period of years.

There should be a Namibian Constitutional Guard, composed of troops from the Western Five countries, from Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria, and from Yugoslavia and Japan (if the constitution of the latter allows). The duty of the Guard would be to protect the institutions and processes of the Namibian constitution against attack or subversion; the citizens of Namibia against unfair arrest and trial; property against illegal seizure; and the borders against invasion. The Guard would be under the control of a Namibian Constitutional Council composed of judges from the United States, the United Kingdom, and South Africa.

The Western Five are reportedly considering a plan for constitutional guarantees involving the participation, in both a military and a judicial capacity, not only of the Western Five but of the front-line and perhaps other African states. That is too many judges for a workable bench; it is also too many judges from countries with threadbare constitutional traditions. The armed sentries of the Namibian constitution could be drawn from many countries, but their judicial masters should be few, authorized to act with speed and steady doctrine, selected from countries with a history of judicial independence.

The participation of South Africa in the Constitutional Council—already contemplated in some fashion in the Western Five's proposals—would be indispensable, since no Namibian settlement is even faintly conceivable without South Africa's continuing assent. South Africa has the most to fear from the use of Namibia as a hostile base, and its judiciary is also perhaps the most independent of any African state's.

## Angola's Stake

The American member (who would be chairman of the Council) would be appointed by the President of the United States, and he would have a casting vote in the event of an abstention. The Council would not interfere with the normal civilian and internal military functions of the Namibian government, nor abridge the rights of the contiguous states to self-defense. The Council and Guard would be in office for perhaps ten years, whereafter their tenure could be ended by a prescribed process.

With the protection of Namibia's constitutional future thus provided for, the presidential envoy could then seek agreement with Angola on the pacification of the border and on the future of Angola itself. Angola has already derided

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the suggestion that its Cubans and Russians and East Germans (at present, in full national uniform, instructing SWAPO soldiers at bases in southwestern Angola) depart as a pre-condition of a reconciliation with Jonas Savimbi's UNITA forces, but the proposal has yet to be made on the basis of a Namibian settlement which would eliminate the basic Angolan fear of a South African invasion.

The envoy could intercede on such an assumption, with Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria as joint intermediaries if possible. Agreement would induce SWAPO to cooperate on Namibia, and also justify Western economic aid on a large scale for Angolan development. Angolan unity and Namibian independence could proceed simultaneously with the warfare at the border falling off.

The presidential envoy would then, after internal and external consultation, publish proposals for a Namibian constitution; call the Namibian parties to the table; and proceed, along with those who stayed the course, to the formation of a coalition government for an independent Namibia.

## It's Better than War

Namibia is a poor country, limited in human and the elementary natural resources. It needs all the competence it can muster. Any settlement short of coalition would waste vital abilities.

The national awareness of that prospective waste is what strikes a traveler in Namibia today most strongly. Here in Rundu, across the Kavango River from Angola, as in Windhoek and elsewhere, one certain way to light up faces and set off the talk is to ask: Why not a coalition?

If that were done, then perhaps all were well done. The ensuing election, supervised by the United Nations, would be rather a celebratory referendum, with the UN's ancient bias an irrelevance. There would be no need for a demilitarized zone or a UN military presence, but there *would* be a role for almost everybody—a constitutional stewardship for the three most involved Western powers, a mediating and policing job for the front-line and other states, an electoral and ratifying role for the United Nations as required by Security Council Resolution 435; and perhaps best of all—since the Namibians are not much consulted by the world about their own interests and preferences—a free and firm and representative system of government in Windhoek which would serve as beacon for a violent and autocratic continent.

The argument here is for induced choices: for the Angolan government in Luanda, the choice between reconciliation and Western aid to Savimbi; for SWAPO, between coalition and a hardening border war; for South Africa and the internal Namibian parties, between a timetable and international isolation. The lure is a patterned bargain: for unity in Angola, for coalition in Namibia, and for regional economic development with Western aid. It seems preferable to war.

What principles of justice and self-determination would not be advanced? What are the obstacles, save those of foreign ritual and political revenge? □

## Little Windmills

*"I don't know much about nuclear power, but I'm scared of it."*
*—Folk-singer Fred Holstein*

Little windmills,
Little windmills,
Little windmills dot the countryside,
Little windmills made of scrap iron,
With pine planks for the blades.
There's a tall one, and a short one, and a squat one, and a spindly one,
And they're all made out of scrap iron,
And they don't work too well at all.

When the wind blows,
Then the windmills
Spin to generate electricity.
They pump water and grind flour
And do all sorts of useful work.
But, when the wind's through blowing, then the windmills don't do a goddam thing,
And they stand there slowly rusting,
And they don't work too well at all.

And the people
Round the windmills
Curse and wonder how they were so dumb.
They remember how it used to be,
When machines did all the work.
They had plumbing, central heating, night baseball, and the stereo;
All they've got now are little windmills,
And they don't work too well at all.

Little windmills,
Little windmills,
Little windmills dot the countryside,
Holding promise of togetherness,
As we're hitched up to the plow.
We'll be rid of bourgeois thinking, such as science and technology,
And perhaps like bovine critics,
We will all learn to play guitar.

—Jonathan Swift Somers II



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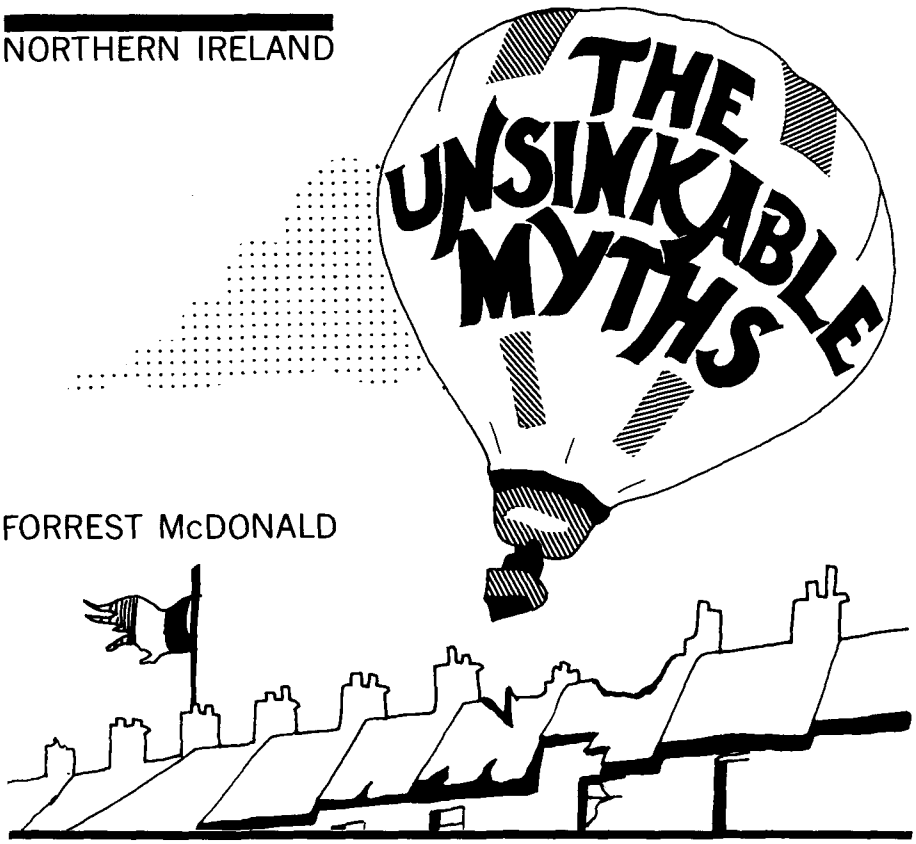
NORTHERN IRELAND

# THE UNSINKABLE MYTHS



FORREST McDONALD

NEWS STORIES tend to take on lives of their own, and when the current of events shifts channels, it is difficult for even the best reporters to shift with it, especially if they are not daily on the scene. Something like that must account for Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's recent article on the situation in Northern Ireland ("The Irish Problem," June 26)—which, though consonant with what one hears and reads elsewhere, is widely at variance from present reality.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn says that "Londonderry and Belfast look like German cities after World War II." I was not in Germany after World War II, but I was in Londonderry and Belfast in May, in the midst of the disturbances following Bobby Sands's death; and if that is what Germany looked like, I can only conclude that our B-17s and B-24s were dropping bricks in the 1940s. I saw scattered bits of rubble caused by bombings and demonstrations, but on the whole the destruction by the IRA and "rioters" combined was no greater than is to be seen on a normal summer weekend in, say, the ghettos of Detroit.

An Ulster businessman informed me that most of what is depicted as terrorist destruction there is bogus. He showed me a slum-clearance project where bulldozers and demolition crews are razing old hovels and erecting good new housing, and assured me that that was where the television cameras get most of their footage. I actually recognized some of the area, having seen it on BBC-TV two nights earlier, solemnly represented as the work of IRA bombs.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn, like others covering the Northern Ireland story, refers to the troubles as a "civil war." There is no civil war in Northern Ireland, or at least none I could find. I traveled in all parts of the province, in a car and on foot, and saw no more police, soldiers, and guerrillas than I see every day in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The quarters of most of the British "army of occupation" is a lovely residential neighborhood, uncordoned, unfenced, unpatrolled. There, as elsewhere in the province, everybody I saw—in shops, on the streets, in schoolyards, churches, hotels, discos—was going peacefully about his business.

To be sure, the Provisional IRA is for real, and to some extent so is the Ulster Defense Association (UDA); and there is violence. The current troubles, which began in the late 1960s, resulted in 761 deaths during the first three years. Since 1972 about 1,250 more have been killed (including perhaps a hundred in England and elsewhere outside Northern Ireland), making a total of more than two thousand. That is a lot of dead people. By the standards of the United Kingdom, it is an awesome number of dead people.

Lest we mistakenly think of Belfast as being on a par with Beirut and Teheran, however, let us consider comparative statistics for the United States. The homicide rate in Northern Ireland over the last 12 years averages out at about 11 per 100,000 people per year; during the past nine years the annual rate has averaged 9.3 per 100,000. In the United States as a whole, the homicide rate in 1978 (the latest reliable figure I have) was 9.4 per 100,000. In the 57 U.S. cities with more than 250,000 people, the rate is 20.4 per 100,000—roughly twice the rate in Northern Ireland. The rate for all crimes of violence in American cities runs about five times as high as the rate in Northern Ireland, and the rate for crimes against property in U.S. cities is nearly twenty times the Northern Ireland rate. In other words, people in Belfast are a good deal safer, in their persons and in their property, than are residents of New York, New Orleans, Washington, or Los Angeles.

## The Myth

The problems in Northern Ireland have deep roots in the past. The mythical version of that past—one that Kuehnelt-Leddihn repeats and extremists on both sides cherish—is that a divided Ulster and with it a divided Ireland came into being with the "plantations" England established there early in the seventeenth century. When James VI of Scotland acceded to the English throne as James I in 1603, the English were in process of subduing the last great Lords of the North, the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, completing a conquest that had taken four centuries.

To ensure the continued pacification of the area, James confiscated the lands of the rebel chieftains and granted them to English and Scottish settlers. By the

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outbreak of the English Civil War in the 1640s, there were between fifty and a hundred thousand British settlers in the nine counties of the Province of Ulster, about four-fifths of them Scots Presbyterians. In the IRA version of the myth, the Protestant presence today is a result of that theft of land from its rightful Irish owners. In the extremist Orange view, the land was a worthless bog inhabited by savages until the industrious Scots, imbued with stern Calvinist morality and the work ethic, transformed it into something of value.

In actuality, the people of Ulster had been a distinct ethnic group for many centuries before the Stuart plantations: they were a part of a Gaelic culture that extended over northern Ireland, the Lowlands and Highlands of western Scotland, and the Hebrides. This maritime, herding, and fiercely warlike people resisted English domination long after the other Celtic peoples in Britain and Ireland had been subjugated. The Scots who settled the seventeenth century plantations were a relatively insignificant addition to the total number of "Scotch-Irish" in Ulster. Indeed, there were no plantations in the two easternmost counties, Antrim and Down, though the greatest concentrations of Protestants are to be found there to this day. Nor were Ulstermen, as yet, divided into hostile religious camps, for they constituted a society with a common heritage. They also had a common enemy: Scotch-Irish Protestants and Irish-Irish Catholics alike were discriminated against, and sometimes slaughtered, by the English through most of the century.

Political polarization on religious lines began later, as a by-product of England's Glorious Revolution. James II's efforts to re-Catholicize the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland resulted in his ouster, in 1688-89, by William of Orange (hence the name Orangemen for Ulster Protestants). A newly established Dublin Parliament, from which Catholics were excluded, then enacted a series of so-called Penal Laws which prohibited Catholics from holding public office, voting, or practicing law, expelled the priesthood and outlawed Catholic education, and forbade Catholics to buy land. Meanwhile, Protestants (many of them, in the south, being absentee owners resident in England) had come into proprietorship of about 90 per cent of the land in Ireland, and another great wave of Scots had arrived in Ulster.

Those developments ensured that Ulster would continue to be different from Ireland's three southern provinces, Leinster, Munster, and Connacht. In the south, the countryfolk were forced to abandon their ancient pastoralism and take up life as tenant farmers on plots of steadily decreasing size, paying steadily increasing rents to English landlords. Simultaneously, the introduction of the potato in the mid-eighteenth century brought a population explosion, from about three million souls to the pre-famine peak of 8.2 million in 1841. The potato famine was devastating, taking more than a million lives, forcing another two million to emigrate (mostly to America), and leaving the country unspeakably impoverished.

Ulster, by contrast, evolved the other way. Most farmers owned their own land; and it was the prospect of reaping the full fruits of their labors, more than Calvinism, that inspired them with the work ethic. That ethic carried over into industry as well, and in the nineteenth century Belfast emerged as a teeming center of shipbuilding and linen manufacturing. Industrialization reduced the suffering caused by the potato famine, and even the Catholics in Ulster prospered most of the time, at least in comparison to their cousins in the south.

## Failed Terror

The existence of two Irelands created problems which the British usually handled by ignoring. When they did act, it necessarily turned out that yielding to the demands of southern Ireland elicited vigorous protests in Ulster and vice versa. When a reawakened spirit of Irish nationalism sparked a demand for Home Rule late in the nineteenth century, Ulster Protestants strongly insisted on the continuation of the Union of Ireland with Britain that had been established in 1800. When the same spirit resulted in Irish independence in the 1920s, Ulster Protestants insisted upon staying in the UK. Ulster's three most Catholic counties, Monaghan, Cavan, and Donegal, were split off as part of the Republic; the other six, wherein Protestants constituted roughly a two-thirds majority, remained part of Great Britain.

But the British, sick of the whole "Irish question," treated Northern Ireland as a poor relation throughout the period between the two world wars. Standards of living in the province, while continuing to be higher than those in the Republic, declined far below those of the rest of the UK; and within Northern Ireland the Catholics were second-class citizens of a second-class province.

Then came the Welfare State, and with it a large flow of funds from London to Northern Ireland. The economic policies that debilitated England revitalized Northern Ireland. Given the Ulsterman's dedication to hard work, a bit of help and a fair chance were all that was needed to get the province back on its feet, and by the mid-Sixties it was thriving. As for the Catholics, though they suffered discrimination in employment and did not have full civil rights, they were far better off than their counterparts in the south by any material standard, including income, unemployment compensation, housing, education, and medical care.

Under these circumstances, though there was some discontent, few Catholics in Northern Ireland were disposed to be absorbed into the Irish Republic. Their attitudes were illustrated in the late Fifties, when the IRA launched a terror campaign. The IRA's strategy, patterned after what had worked in 1919-21, was to force the British out of the rural areas of Northern Ireland, where Catholics were in a majority, by making those areas ungovernable. The campaign was a total failure, for it did not have popular Catholic support.

## Peace Movement

The current round of troubles started as a civil-rights movement among radical university students in the late Sixties. The principal targets of the movement were gerrymandering and a system of property qualifications for voting in local elections, which together ensured upper-class Protestant control of local government, through which public housing and other welfare-state goodies were allocated. The student radicals, inspired by the civil-rights and antiwar demonstrations in America, were as arrogantly self-righteous as student "revolutionaries" everywhere else, but there was



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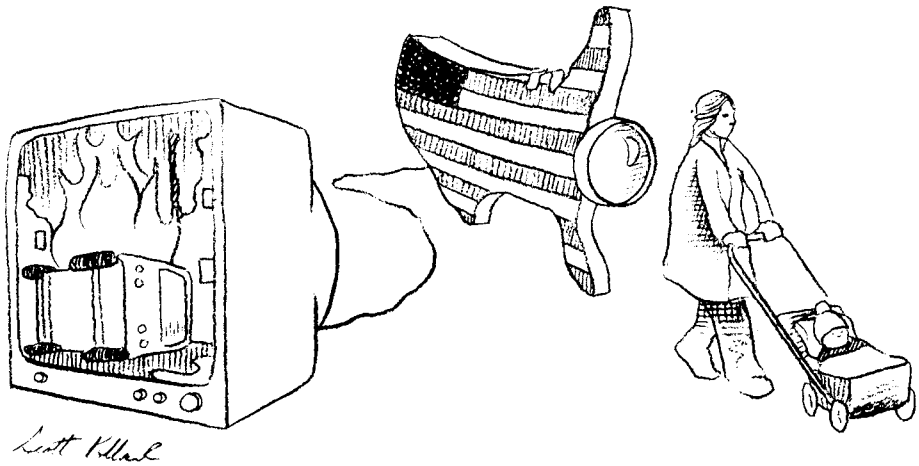
a crucial difference: they were in Ulster.

The Irish, Protestant and Catholic alike, had developed from their long history of conquest and resistance a strong sense of territoriality and of ritual warfare. To march through an area was to proclaim, symbolically, one's dominance over it. For example, every year on July 12, the anniversary of William's victory over James II at the Battle of the Boyne, Orangemen had traditionally marched in ritualistic assertion of Protestant ascendance. If they marched over the wrong turf, a rousing donnybrook was likely to ensue. Rioting itself was and is a highly stylized social ritual. Thus when student radicals, in the fall of 1968, attempted to stage American-style protest marches, they were inviting violent resistance, and they got it. During the next two years, confrontation followed confrontation, sometimes with attendant bloodshed; and sensational television coverage fanned the flames of fear and animosity throughout the province.

It was at this point that the Provisional IRA and the UDA got into the act. The IRA, defunct for nearly a decade, was reorganized and reinvigorated with covert assistance from the Ministry of Defense in Dublin. When Dublin's support became publicly known it was withdrawn; but wealthy Irish-Americans took up the slack, and the IRA's hundred or so companies were rapidly equipped with sophisticated weaponry. Then, in response to an intensified IRA bombing campaign in the summer of 1971, Protestant extremists formed their own paramilitary counter-terrorist organization, the Ulster Defense Association. Violence by these two small but well-armed and fanatical groups reached a climax in the early Seventies, and for a time the efforts of the British army to suppress them were vain.

Then came a general popular revulsion against all the bloodshed. In September 1976, soldiers shot and killed a Provisional as he tried to avoid a roadblock, and his car crashed into and killed three children. Two women, Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan—who later received a Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts—responded by forming the Women's Peace Movement. Widely supported by both Protestants and Catholics, the WPM brought about a considerable relaxation of tension: there came to exist a general consensus that,



even though the two sides might not do much social intermixing and might stick to their traditional neighborhoods, they could nonetheless peacefully inhabit the same country. By and large, they have done so.

In the new atmosphere, the UDA withered up and the IRA went underground. In 1978, the IRA was reconstituted as a purely terrorist organization: its regional command structure was abolished and new, autonomous specialist cells were erected in its place. The new units contain far fewer members than the old, but they are more difficult to isolate and infiltrate. They are also more ruthless. Their strategy now is guerrilla theater, aimed at convincing the world, and especially the British, that Northern Ireland is locked in a bloody and unending civil war. With the help of irresponsible news media and some equally irresponsible Irish-American politicians, they are succeeding.

## TV: Keep Out

That brings us to the present situation. Ongoing "peace conferences," called in hopes of devising some kind of compromise solution to the province's problems, have repeatedly failed. They will continue to fail, because they are seeking political solutions to what are essentially nonpolitical problems. At base, Northern Ireland's problems are social and economic. Stagflation, which has reached crippling proportions throughout the UK, is especially devastating in Northern Ireland. Across the board, the cost of living is about 10 per cent higher and incomes are 10 per cent lower than in the rest of the Kingdom. Unemployment in Northern Ireland is more than 12 per cent, twice that in Britain. Among Catholics, unemployment is two and a half times as high as among Protestants; in some of the Catholic enclaves in Belfast unemployment runs as high as 50 per cent. And, as the Victorian platitude had it, idle hands are the devil's workshop.

The solution to the economic problems is outside capital investment to create new jobs: that is the indispensable requisite for permanent pacification. Ulster ought to be attractive to outside capital, for the vast majority of its people are peaceful, law-abiding, and —wonder of wonders in the modern world—willing and eager to work. Some investors have made this discovery, the most publicized being John DeLorean's new automobile-making venture. Most, however, have been scared off by Ulster's media-created image as a land of violence, social instability, and civil war.

Solving the economic problems would solve most, though not all, of the social problems. As for the others, differences between Protestants and Catholics continue to exist, but, as I have indicated, these are not nearly so strong as they once were. Adherents of the two faiths are learning to live together; most people of both persuasions are sick of the agitation and want nothing more than to be allowed to get on about the business of improving the lot of themselves and their families. The main barrier to doing so is the outside news media, which from sensationalism, misguided sentimentalism, and sheer laziness are playing into the hands of the IRA. Guerrilla theater is ineffectual if there is no audience. The media are providing the audiences, at Northern Ireland's expense. □



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# Japan Revisited

## From the Continent

ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

THIS YEAR I returned to Japan (for the sixth time) after a gap of nine years. What an immense surprise I had! Tokyo, which I had always considered an eyesore, has become in many sections a beautiful city. Tora-no-mon, the quarter where the U.S. Embassy is located, is an architectural marvel. The whole country seems engaged in construction and reconstruction.

Modern Japan is indeed a sort of miracle, but not a supernatural one; it grew out of the roots and traditions, the human strengths and weaknesses, of the country itself. No nation that lacks most raw materials and was devastated by a modern war to boot could have become one of the world's leading industrial powers in the absence of certain human qualities and spiritual reserves: intelligence, energy, the predisposition for hard and systematic work, team spirit, a strong sense of personal responsibility, and—last but not least—loyalty and patriotism, qualities largely absent in the Third World (more aptly called the Economic Demimonde). The driving moral force behind all these qualities in Japan, however, is not religion but ethics: not Buddhism or even Shintoism, but Confucianism, a mixture of wisdom, morality, and tradition.

### *To Lose Is to Win*

Certain curious analogies between England (old, traditional England, that is) have always been evident. English words taken from French-Latin correspond to Japanese words borrowed from Chinese; the reticences and inhibitions that characterize middle-class Englishmen are equally noticeable in their Japanese counterparts; and, above all, there is in both nations a team spirit that favors collaboration and coordination. The average Japanese (aristocrats and Christians apart) is a group-person who shuns what we might call the cult of personality. (During childhood vacations in an English country house, I was frequently admonished, "Don't be selfish!") According to this code, one should not be conspicuous (*deshabaru*), or prone to violent arguments (*rikutsuppoi*), but should follow the principle of *makeru ga kachi*—"to lose is to win." These considerations refer to persons, however, not to groups; to individual managers, not to the whole enterprise, for the Japanese economic world is extremely competitive.

The one time when individuals are equally competitive is before they enter that world. There are two turning points in a young person's life: his acceptance by a university, and his entrance into a firm. The fight, first to get into a good school, and then to do well there, is a free-for-all. However, entrance into a firm (in whatever capacity) turns a new and final page in one's life: from now on, the key word is loyalty.

Loyalty in Japan has a strong tradition of a Shinto rather than a Buddhist character (it also receives spiritual support from Christianity). We have here a modern version of the Samurai loyalty to the *Daimyo*. A man who changes employers more than once in his life loses face. A manager will devote nearly his entire life—including the greater part of his social life—to his firm. His salary may be low, but his expense account is most generous. The working class, too, enjoys a great many fringe benefits, and their salaries are most adequate. The suspicion that the secret of Japan's industrial success is "slave labor" is utterly unfounded.

This myth of exploitation derives from yet another myth: that Tokyo has become the world's most expensive capital. This is true only if you are a Western simpleton who heads for the most luxurious hotels, or if you insist on eating the Western way, especially fancy *yottsu-ashi*, "four-legged food." Beef costs a fortune, as do milk and butter, for Buddhist tradition is averse to raising animals for food. For the older Japanese, drinking cow's milk seems quite outlandish, and to the Japanese nose, even fresh butter stinks. ("You can smell the butter on his lips" is the phrase used to describe someone who speaks Japanese with a foreign accent.) But if you eat the Japanese way, you can get a good meal for $4 to $6. The subway is, on the whole, cheaper than in New York (and vastly superior), and so are taxis. Clothes and shoes cost no more than they do in Europe.

One of the most striking impressions I got of the Japanese upsurge was, oddly enough, the Ethnological Museum in Shinri near Osaka. Of this colossal seven-story building, only two floors are for exhibits—the rest is dedicated to research. It houses an army of scientists, professors, and secretaries and is wholly computerized. There are long corridors with cubicles for viewing films or listening to tapes brought automatically from a hall where a robot—an eerie sight—selects them from a gigantic metal file stack. The sums spent to erect and run this building are astronomical.

### *Sans Typewriters*

My visit to the main plant of Noritake, the china and ceramics manufacturer, in Nagoya was equally impressive. The atmosphere in the still highly individualized workshop, where skilled personnel paint the designs on each object, resembles that of a hospital. Everything is white and spotless; there is no noise, no loud talking, utmost concentration.

None of what I have said should be taken to mean that rapid Westernization and industrialization have created no problems for Japan. A minor one concerns the writing: a big, modern industrial nation can scarcely exist without typewriters; but Japan does exist, and cannot use typewriters for its own language, since to abolish the Chinese characters would mean changing the idiom, unmaking 1,200 years of linguistic development. Japan also has a painful lack of raw materials, especially of oil, which today means both tremendous expense and tremendous dependence. Then there is the military problem. Few thoughtful Japanese believe that their country can live indefinitely under the U.S. atomic umbrella.

And finally there looms a spiritual problem: What happens if the Confucian tradition evaporates? The purely religious reserves are wearing thin. Despite the success of the visit by the *Hoo* (the Pope), Christianity's hopes in Japan are limited, the high social status of Catholic writers there notwithstanding. And the Reformed faiths are too preoccupied with social and political problems to be truly effective. Yet it remains true, as de Maistre said, that great numbers of people can be ruled only through religion or slavery, or an evil combination of both. □



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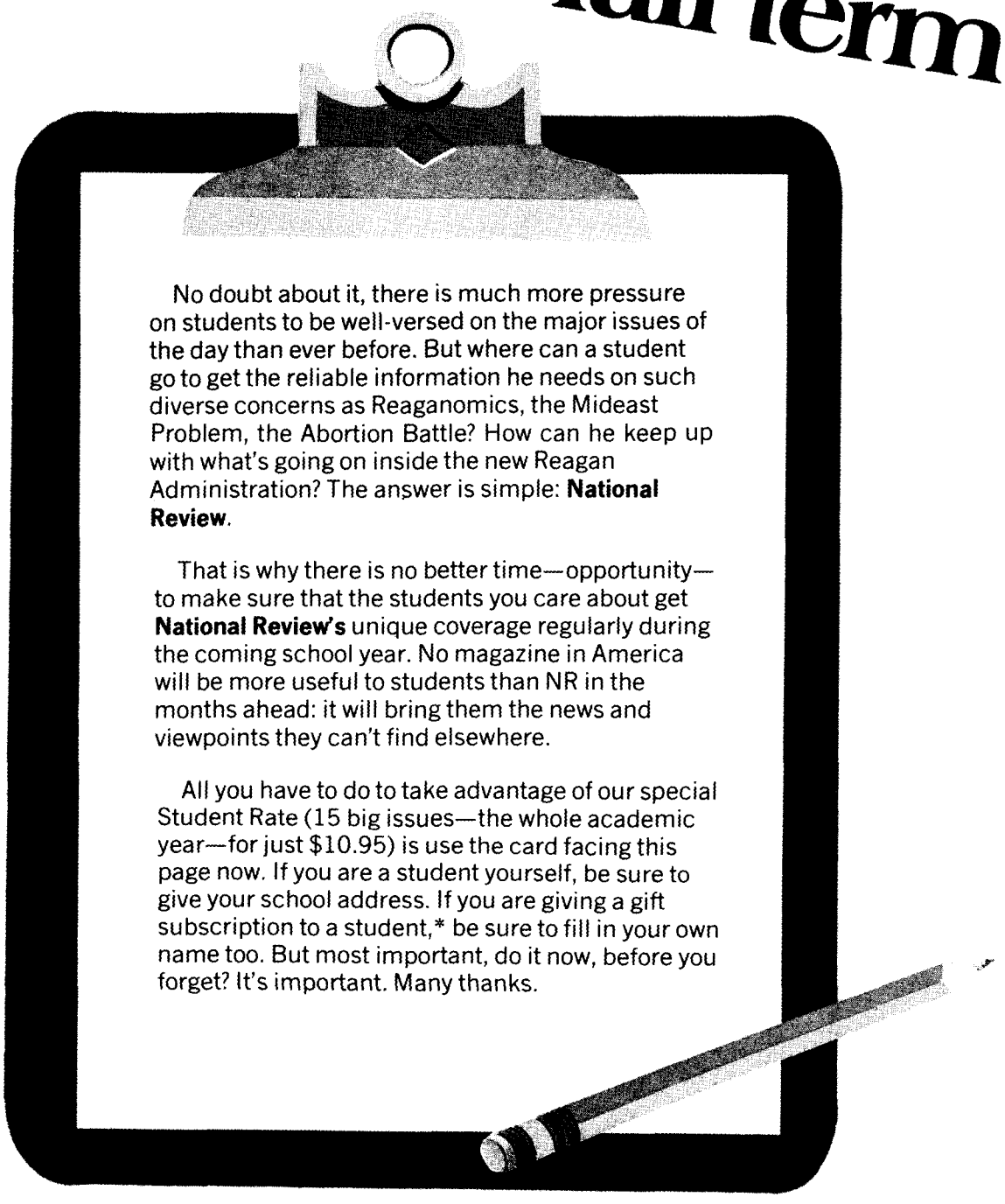

No doubt about it, there is much more pressure on students to be well-versed on the major issues of the day than ever before. But where can a student go to get the reliable information he needs on such diverse concerns as Reaganomics, the Mideast Problem, the Abortion Battle? How can he keep up with what's going on inside the new Reagan Administration? The answer is simple: **National Review**.

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# Books Arts & Manners

## Less Money, More Defense

CHARLES BURTON MARSHALL

*National Defense*
*By James Fallows*
*Random House, 304 pp., $12.95*
*Real Security: Restoring American Power in a Dangerous Decade*
*By Richard J. Barnet*
*Simon & Schuster, 217 pp., $10.95; paperback, $4.95*

Encomiums cited in Random House blurbs indicate that James Fallows has had signal success in his didactic aim "to give the general reader better ways of thinking about defense." No reader of his *National Defense*—to quote a specimen—"can fail to be . . . even better informed, perhaps, than the military establishment itself." Enthusiasm has even prompted a recommendation, in *Saturday Review*, of Fallows for Caspar Weinberger's job at the Pentagon. My own inclination is more restrained. The writing is sprightly. Ideas are too often unsustained. Two cheers suffice.

Consider this doctrinal precept: "There was a time when American forces fought with maneuver principles: in the Revolutionary War. Since then, the American military heritage has been long on the Ulysses S. Grants, the champions of the crushing, ponderous attack, and short on the Stonewall Jacksons and Douglas MacArthurs and George S. Pattons who made quick, unexpected end-runs around enemy forces rather than attempting to ram them head-on."

What a confounding of tactics and strategy! The Americans in the Revolutionary War had to rely on tactical opportunism, so long as unfavorable force ratios foreclosed alternatives. Preponderance of force in the zone of combat, when it was eventually provided by the strategically determinative French connection, was rejoicingly brought to bear on Cornwallis at Yorktown. As between Grant and Stonewall, would you base your planning on a winning side's strategy or a losing side's tactics? Memories of logistics in MacArthur's theater late in World War II close my mind to any hint that the man was unconcerned for material superiority. Patton, too, was a master at making use of the upper hand.

THE MAIN thrust of Fallows's book, however, is a wariness about the uses and misuses of technology, concerning which the author adduces a theorem: "In most cases . . . innovations that best serve the military are those that dramatically simplify, instead of adding complications." Again his words move me to ponder meanings—starting with technology.

That branch of endeavor is epitomized by someone's twiddling dials on a stereo console to modulate quality and volume of sound for optimal aural effect. The twiddler's agency requires knowledge neither of music nor even of electronics. Likewise intent on sonic refinement, a conductor and an ensemble of instrumentalists working on a symphony are integral to the process of getting the music right, and results hinge on their degree of comprehension and proficiency—that is, technique. Technique correlates with talent. Technology augments or even obviates talent.

As for the pertinence of the concepts of simplification and complication: filling a room with music is a simpler operation for a dial-twiddler than for an orchestra, thanks to the complicacy of an electronic system. Such interplay between antitheses can be illustrated in countless ways. Properly inculcated chimpanzees unawarely pioneering in astrogation a few years ago would have found orbiting on their own impossibly complicated, but enormously complicated space vehicles made it simple for them. Some people for whom the simplicity of arithmetic by pencil and paper is too complicated simply rely on the complexities of digital calculators instead. A convoluted electronic oven helps simplify cooking in my household. To have to start a meal by the simple method of rubbing sticks together would be too complicated. Invention complicates and in so doing may also simplify.

Fallows's postulate rigorously applied from early on would presumably have forestalled chariots, chain mail, crossbows, cannon, and so on in a countless concatenation of complicators of combat. Sharing his predilections, I myself often deplore the relegation of broadswords. The rub is one indicated 41 years ago by the late Senator Tom Connally in debate over a proposal to ban exports of offensive weapons to opponents of the Axis. Connally told of a zealous Southerner's boast in marching off to battle in 1861—"We'll beat the

**Donald Hall**, *poet and critic, resides in New Hampshire. His most recent books are* Remembering Poets *and* Kicking the Leaves. . . . **Charles Burton Marshall** *is a founding member of the Committee on the Present Danger.* . . . **Selden Rodman**'*s most recent book is* Artists in Tune with Their World: Popular Painting and Sculpture from Alaska to Chile, *to be published next spring by Simon & Schuster.* . . . **Ralph de Toledano** *is a novelist, essayist, columnist, poet, and critic.* . . . **Thomas Wendel** *is a professor of history at San Jose State University.*



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Yankees with cornstalks!"—and then his disconsolate explanation of defeat four springs later: "The damned Yankees wouldn't fight with cornstalks!" Former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's aphorism that "our technology is what will save us"—scorned by Fallows as hyperbolic—does err in implicitly confusing indispensability with sufficiency. Technology is not to be equated with strategic salvation, but neglecting its pertinence to strategic competition is a most likely avenue to perdition.

Like most things with some potential for benefit, technological elaboration may be misapplied. Weapon projects can go awry because of overspecialization, too much striving for versatility, bureaucratic forgetfulness of the originating intents, the overlooking of inherent limitations in human auxiliaries, disproportionate costliness, and other such judgmental or material shortcomings.

Fallows believes the set-up is too hit-or-miss, too tempting to abuse. One definite and one presumptive instance of misguided development—namely the M-16 rifle and the F-16 plane—underscore his animadversions concerning improvident emphasis on technology, to the disparagement of technique, in U.S. military endeavors. In his view, the denaturing of the warrior's craft generates its own momentum as busy devotees of elaboration contrive steadily to depreciate combat utility in the progressively more convoluted paraphernalia of warfare being innovated—in phase with degradation of the manpower for maintaining and operating them. Leadership, the directing principle in educing aptitude and motivating achievement, is at a discount. While lesser rankers dawdle through enlistments as through stopgap jobs, officers are busy rotating through assignments, angling for promotions, and edging toward early paid retirement in anticipation of lucrative civilian careers exploiting their service connections in merchandising ever more costly devices with increasingly recondite inner workings.

As Fallows, overdrawing, tells it, the system or lack of it has become incapable of innovating anything besides ways to squander money in a "progression toward ever more costly and complex weapons." His remedies—I skip the unexceptionable abstractions—center on a proposal "to exorcise the procurement culture from the Pentagon." The phraseology is an exercise in big talk, for a central aggregate of persons with shared memory and coded norms will continue to be essential. An accompanying suggestion for legal penalties against pensioned former officers who do paid work in the defense industry is questionable. (I might reconsider when Congress bars ex-members from practicing law or lobbying.) Disjoining authority for developing and testing military hardware is a right enough idea—proposed with a flourish suggesting discovery of a formula for purifying corruption.

Too often the arguments are opinionated rather than substantiated. Discounting the vulnerability of Minuteman ICBMs, the workability of ABMs, and the relevance of MX, for example, requires more than an ipse-dixit. To shrug off theorizing about nuclear deterrence as "theological" is only a debater's trick. Rebutting Paul Nitze's logic by a supposititious reference to a concealed major premise is digressive. Nonetheless, Fallows, a deft verbalizer, manages to illuminate such well-worn topics as war's imponderables, the adeptness of experience at confounding expectations, the general impertinence of business apophthegms to strategy, and the lapse now of America's old-time immunities and advantages. The delineation of fallacies that underlie the all-volunteer force is especially effective. Fallows's brightness may well bring more light to an important concern as his grasp of it is strengthened.



Richard Barnet is an old hand—with pertinent books now aggregating nine. His line of thought is as predictable and persistent as the themes of Sanka commercials. *Real Security* is a prescription for getting rid of edginess by reconciling ourselves to the world as it is. Mutual Assured Destruction makes strategic deterrence a built-in reality—not the happiest of conceivable situations but hugely more comfortable than the rigors of military competition. Forget about redressing the military balance, for it is already fixed. Be bland about Third World revolutionary disruptions—matters beyond our reach anyway. As for U.S.-Soviet rivalry: "The identity of each system depends too much upon its opposition to the other to permit anything more than antagonistic collaboration . . . for the foreseeable future." The only real latent danger "is the fatalistic belief that the war no one wants cannot be avoided."

Particulars are sometimes puzzling. Barnet upbraids the U.S. for failing to "use our moment of genuine 'superiority' to try to create a stable world order"

# RANDOM NOTES

■ LAST SEPTEMBER TITLES: Just before her death, Fawn Brodie completed her psychobiography *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (Norton, $18.95). It is just a tad worse than her psychobiography of Thomas Jefferson. Let posterity record that she published at least one fine book in her career: the graceful and luminous biography of Joseph Smith.

Robert Nozick's *Philosophical Explanations* (Belknap, Harvard, $25) deals with such matters as "why there is something rather than nothing," why values can be said to be real, and why religious and mystical experiences are valid.

Paul Hollander argues, in *Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba 1928-1978* (Oxford, $25), that the Left's infatuation with "community" and "identity" leads them to practice a "moral selectivity" when it comes to scrutinizing certain repressive and even barbarous regimes. . . . *Breakthrough: A Personal Account of the Egypt-Israel Peace Negotiations* (Knopf, $15), by Moshe Dayan, describes the former Israeli Foreign Minister's involvement with the negotiations that led to the Camp David Accords. It is interesting, from the perspective of history, to learn that Dayan found President Carter to be hostile and obstinate.

James O'Toole's *Making America Work: Productivity and Responsibility* (Continuum, $14.95) is concerned with the slip in American productivity over the past decades. O'Toole believes that the real problem is not economics but cultural deficiencies.

■ BOOK NOTES: The paperback rights to George Gilder's superbly successful *Wealth and Poverty* have been sold to Bantam Books. Gilder is also preparing a British edition. . . . Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s latest novel, *Marco Polo, If You Can*, to be published in January by Doubleday, has been chosen as a February Dual Main Selection by the Book-of-the-Month Club. —CW



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but oppositely observes, "The first thirty years of the postwar era were remarkably stable, in large part because the U.S. had something approaching a monopoly of military power." Again—on adjoining pages—the U.S. is alleged both to "have confused stability with the status quo under the belief that our sheer power could stop the clock" and to have pressed for altering the "unique circumstances . . . that gave us that power."

What comes through with unmistakable clarity is zeal for drastic curtailment of military outlays. Such is Barnet's prescription for "real security." In its opposition to the Reagan military program, his book is a companion to Fallows's. The other day I noted in the *Philadelphia Record* an editorial rhapsodic about the two books for having conclusively equated more money with less defense and, conversely, more defense with less money.

Now for a sip of real coffee! Parsimony is a component of improvidence. The outstandingly successful defense production programs of recent times—Polaris-Poseidon being a stellar example—have been the ones that were funded so generously that it was unnecessary to attenuate effort and cut corners. □

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*Explaining America: The Federalist*
*By Garry Wills*
*Doubleday, 384 pp., $14.95*

# ENLIGHTENING AMERICA

## THOMAS WENDEL

With the publication and wide public notice of *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (1978)—the first of Garry Wills's announced tetralogy on the American Enlightenment—the author's position in regard to the intellectual origins of the United States became well known. First, the philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment—Francis Hutcheson, Lord Kames, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, and above all David Hume—and *not* John Locke were the true progenitors of the Founders' ideas. Second, an explication of the Founders' texts in the light of their Scottish origin discovers in them quite astonishing meanings. Jefferson's "Declaration" expresses a communitarian rather than an individualistic ethic. In *Explaining America: The Federalist* Wills examines the writings of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, and finds in them similar origins and meanings.

The authors of *The Federalist* have generally been understood to have had a pessimistic view of human nature. Their system of government, therefore, erected barriers—checks and balances—against the encroachments of ambition and greed. They also valued heterogeneity over homogeneity: the more competing interests within a society, the less likely any one would be to dominate the others. But Garry Wills denies this traditional interpretation. He thinks that Madison in particular, being profoundly influenced by David Hume's "moral-sense" philosophy, was willing to trust to the *virtue* of the American people.

If Wills's view of the Founders is correct, then American historiography is in for major revision. Locke must make way for a Willsian Hume, enlightened self-interest for the principles of sociability and benevolence. The Founders, we are told, believed in strong centralized power guided by the Best and the Brightest. The discovery of such wise men rather than the establishment of limited government was the fundamental purpose of the Constitution as interpreted by *The Federalist*. But has Wills proved his case?

Wills makes too precise a dichotomy between the Scottish thinkers and John Locke. "Locke and the tradition he represents," writes historian Caroline Robbins, influenced "Hutcheson and all his contemporaries." Of these, David Hume, though he may inveigh against Locke's "selfish system," nevertheless begins, like Locke, with individual men. "Hume's theory of obligation and the role of governments," writes John B. Steward, "when placed beside those of Hobbes and Locke, is of a different species, but it is within the same genus."

If Wills goes too far in divorcing social-contract theory from American political thinking, he also errs in assigning an all but exclusive influence over Madison to Hume. Wills has built an edifice upon a brief article by Douglass Adair, who, as Wills portentously puts it, "saw it first." But Adair's seminal article simply will not bear the massive superstructure Wills has built upon it. Commenting on the Adair thesis, Henry May, in *The Enlightenment of America*, agrees that Madison "owed some of his most brilliant insights to suggestions in Hume's political essays concerning the dangers of faction. . . . But that is a long way," May continues, "from making Hume's thought in general a profound influence in America, or even on Madison." Another scholar, Marvin Meyers, admits that Hume's *Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth* "might have suggested to Madison some advantages of a large republic." But the essay, Meyers continues, "does not touch the crucial Madisonian argument from the number and diversity of social and economic interests." Wills, in short, has not only found in the Scottish school a questionable counter to Lockean liberalism, he has also overstated the case for that school's influence.

Finally, what of Wills's exegesis of *The Federalist Papers* themselves? As in *Inventing America*, nine-tenths of *Explaining America* is given to exasperatingly tendentious, contentious, hair-splitting, logic-chopping *explications de texte*. Wills sets up a hypothetical Contemporary View of Madison based, really, upon an amalgam of Charles Beard and a few contemporary political scientists. Wills particularly emphasizes the views of Robert Dahl and James MacGregor Burns, but he gives short shrift to much recent *historical* scholarship, most notably Irving Brandt's monumental six-volume biography of Madison and Bernard Bailyn's profound examination of the roots of republican ideology. The political scientists' contradictory and inconsistent Madison is a straw man, and a feeble one at that.

And Wills's Madison is similarly flawed. "He thought that parties not only would not but should not come into existence . . ." Yet in one of the most famous sentences in *The Federalist* Madison writes, "An extinction of parties necessarily implies either a univesal alarm for the public safety, or an ab-



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solute extinction of liberty" (*Federalist* Number 50). Concerning *Federalist* Number 51, Wills several times incorrectly states that Madison's famous rule, "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition," applies between the two branches of the legislature, whereas Madison clearly meant all three branches of government. Compounding this error, Wills has Madison, in Number 51, urging an astonishing joint Executive-Senate veto of legislation by the House. Madison, in fact, is justifying the much-criticized "qualified connection" between Executive and Senate in the appointment and treaty-making powers.

Hamilton, too, is roughly handled by Wills. He implies, for example, that a footnote to *Federalist* Number 81 is Hamilton's, when in fact it is by the editor, Jacob Cooke, whose edition of *The Federalist* Wills used. In an unbelievably sophistical and labyrinthine argument, Wills attempts to obliterate Hamilton's plain defense of judicial review in Number 78 (which paper, moreover, is not "devoted to proofs" of legislative supremacy, but to permanency of judicial tenure).

As for the "third Publius," Wills writes: "Jay starts with the assumption that war will be unjust and tries to prevent injustice from rising." Jay actually writes that "it becomes useful to inquire, whether so many *just* causes of war are likely to be given by *United America*, as by *disunited America*. . . ." So much for exegesis!

As a sort of fourth Publius, Wills not only misinterprets the other three, but also, unlike them, is less than rigorous with his facts and research. John Locke, who wrote the *Second Treatise of Government* before 1688, was not an "apologist" for the Glorious Revolution. The editor of the essays of Douglass Adair writes that the historian "revealed his early preference for Madison." In Wills's hands this becomes the claim that Adair "rather idolized Madison." Wills also errs in delineating later party differences as "Jacksonians against Republicans" and "Lincolnians against Whigs." The Whig Party was Jackson's chief opposition, while Democrats opposed the Republican Lincoln. And finally, there is nothing new in reflecting upon Hamilton's incipient Bonapartism ("my surmise," Wills calls it) or in the sage warning against assuming "that our government, in its evolution over two centuries . . . has the shape that Constitution envisaged."

In much of *Explaining America*, what is not either wrong or wrong-headed is simply old stuff. And most wrong-headed is Wills's separation of Publius's writing from the Constitution he thought he was defending. "We have wrongly assumed," Wills concludes, "that *The Federalist* is a faithful exposition of the Constitution . . ." Instead, the book that Madison himself always said was exactly that is a treatise on "meritocracy." Though claiming to do the opposite, Wills has torn *The Federalist* from its historical context: the struggle for ratification of the Constitution.

*The Federalist* was written in reply to the objections to the proposed Constitution by the Anti-Federalists. If we find the concept of Republican Virtue in the former, we also find it in the works of the latter. It was the common currency of the times. But it is to torture the text to place it, as Wills does, as the fundamental theme of Publius's book. The Madison revealed by traditional historical research, the Madison who approved of diversity, of constitutional checks, of limited federal government, above all, the Madison who revealed himself in *The Federalist*, has survived Wills's irritatingly tedious attempt to explain him, and with him his America, away. □

*Haydn: Chronicle and Works*
*By H. C. Robbins Landon*
*Indiana University Press, 3,248 pp. (5 vols.), $248*

# THE PUBLIC'S COMPOSER

## SELDEN RODMAN

Not since Alexander Wheelock Thayer's life of Beethoven was published over a century ago has any biography of a major composer approached this one in scope and exhaustive research. H. C. Robbins Landon has many advantages over Thayer, beside the obvious one of a hundred more years of scholarship to draw on. As a musicologist and critic of music, Landon can (and does) devote more attention to the music than to the man; and he is able to confront his subject with more ease than the Victorian Thayer, who always seems a bit too much in awe of the formidable Beethoven to deal frankly with the pathology of genius.

The cobbler-wheelwright of Rohrau who was Haydn's father declined to have his son castrated in the interests of a promising career as a choirboy. Once *that* hurdle was passed, and the young composer was lifted out of desperate poverty (where he had still managed to teach himself the essentials of his art) by the princely patronage of the Esterházys, Haydn settled almost precipitately into a lifelong marriage with a bigoted spendthrift totally lacking in beauty or grace, and tone-deaf to boot.

There was, to be sure, a brief affair with an untalented Italian soprano, whom Haydn subsequently excised from his will, but little is known of either woman—no picture of Luigia Polzelli survives, and if the features of the irritable wife were ever painted, her likeness is not preserved. A Swedish visitor to the Haydns in 1799 reported Frau Haydn's comment on *The Creation*—"People say it's supposed to be good, I wouldn't know"—adding: "They say in Vienna that Haydn's rather unhappy and childless marriage is the reason why he composed so much."

Landon leaves it at that, and that muchness is where his richly monumental and fascinating study properly begins and ends. For no great composer with the possible exception of Sebastian Bach composed so much, with such a uniform level of excellence, or did so much to change the nature of his art. Mozart, whose genius alone (as Landon sees it) slightly transcended Haydn's, built upon the firm foundation the older composer provided, and there was a unique friendship between the two based upon unruffled esteem.

Beethoven, of course, was Haydn's pupil for two years, a relationship the more emotional younger man chafed against almost to the day of his death, 18 years after Haydn's. Landon doesn't underestimate Beethoven, but takes away some of the credit usually accorded to him for radically altering the status of artist vis-à-vis patron. "Within his lifetime he [Haydn] had seen the complete transformation from a servant



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in livery, literally kissing the hem of the Prince's garment, to a distinguished artist asked to dine with the Prince, the Princess, and their guests, and the object of affection and adulation. Haydn had accomplished this transformation modestly but no less thoroughly . . ." The author makes much—in this reviewer's opinion too much—of Esterházy's "charming act of homage" in finally ordering his First Wine Steward to "issue to my *Kapellmeister Hrn* Haydn a *gratis* annual amount of six Eimer of princely table wine."

In 1784, when Haydn, who was 52 and the most famous composer in the world, heard for the first time the six quartets dedicated to him by the 28-year-old Mozart, he said to the younger composer's father: "I tell you before God, and as an honest man, that your son is the greatest composer I know, either personally or by reputation." Haydn didn't at once stop writing quartets but slowed down, and soon, perhaps as a result of hearing the ineffable G Minor, he turned away from the symphony too. But with that unerring instinct for originality that never left him, the old composer turned to the oratorio, and by 1796 he had begun work on his masterpiece, *The Creation.*

Landon is at his best in describing the genesis of this most popular of Haydn's works. Science had begun to change man's attitude toward the world. A patron-friend, Count Zinzendorf, was writing on the "probability of a central solar system" and adding "grandeur of God, infinite littleness of man!" while Haydn nearby was sketching the unprecedented orchestral "Chaos" with which the oratorio opens. The libretto was contributed by Baron Van Swieten, who had introduced Mozart to the music of J. S. Bach and was soon to play a similar role in the development of Beethoven's late style; and this libretto did almost as much as the music itself to conquer, as one Swiss critic put it, not only Vienna but all of war-ravaged Europe at the turn of the century —"reuniting all classes—Catholic Austria, Anglican England, Evangelical Berlin, and even a laicized Paris—in admiration, repeatedly moving thousands and thousands of listeners to tears of devotion and emotion . . ."

I had always marveled at the orchestration of the "Chaos," wondering if I was a little crazy to think I could be hearing the germ of *Tristan* in one passage. This Landon confirms, describing *The Creation*'s prelude as "the most modern, forward-looking work of Haydn's whole career . . . a vision of unutterable sadness and loneliness such as music would not see again before *Tristan.*" At the same time, so deeply rooted was Haydn in folk motifs that he could invent his own at will, or, when occasionally borrowing a non-diatonic street-song or yodel, disdain to "quote," wholly integrating it into a high style expressly developed for such accommodations. The greater miracle, though, was that the workaholic Haydn never became a drudge or an intellectual snob. He remained to the end of his life "the public's composer *par excellence.*" For many years thereafter—Landon concludes his final volume—Haydn "became at best a musician's musician; it now remains to be seen whether, after all, he will now once again become the public's composer."

All the signs point to it. Not least among them this magisterial tribute to one of mankind's heroes. □

# SOUND ON DISC

## THE GREAT BENNY CARTER

### RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Those of us who discovered jazz in the Thirties inherited a rich past, which was also the present. There were Jelly Roll Morton and Sidney Bechet, Louis Armstrong and Jimmie Noone, and the New Orleans school as it evolved in Chicago style. Out of Iowa there was Bix Beiderbecke's plangent cornet making its own voice.

The present and future were the great "swing" bands—Benny Goodman and Duke Ellington, Andy Kirk and Count Basie—all vigorous expressions of a new era, each with its exciting sidemen, whose solos set the adrenaline a-bubble. But jazz was also an ongoing music, drawing heavily from tradition yet making its own mark on the calendar. We heard it in Harlem's jazz joints and its dance halls, in Greenwich Village—even in Staten Island beerhalls. And, of course, there were the recordings to serve as chronicles of the past and guideposts to the future.

There is no need to list the great men of jazz. Those who lived in that era know them, and the younger jazz *aficionados* have found and enjoyed them on long-playing records. High in the catalogue of jazz greatness, though, was one who never received the recognition he deserved. He was then and is now a jazzman's jazzman, his presence everywhere engraved on the great jazz records from 1930 to the present.

HIS NAME: Benny Carter. His one-time sobriquet (though it never stuck): King. King Carter. He was and is a superlative instrumentalist on trumpet, alto saxophone, and clarinet—an improviser whose style and attack extract the unique from the traditional. Among the arrangers—the men who could take a new Tin Pan Alley tune or an old standard and transform it into jazz—he stands in the highest ranks. In the Thirties, he hauled British "jazz" up from its vapidities almost singlehandedly. The jazzmen he recruited for his recording dates came out of the top drawer.

Perhaps Benny Carter has always been too serious a musician, too dedicated to what he was creating, to stoop for the plaudits and the "recognition" of the musically unwashed. Perhaps he did not quite know how to succeed in the kick-and-scratch world of band music—too little the showman—though other jazz musicians clustered about him and learned their trade from him. Another perhaps: a Benny Carter arrangement or solo cannot be heard with one ear while the foot is tapping. The listener must concentrate on the rich inner voices of the one, on the harmonic and emotional line of the other. Everything he wrote or played, even his "commercial" efforts, was an overlay on the spirit of the blues—and there is no greater.

Others, like the mellifluous Duke Ellington, won the gold-plated cookie. But it is interesting that Ellington has begun to show a posthumous wear, while Benny Carter is now coming into his own. This change has now been celebrated in a three-record album by Time-Life Records in its Giants of Jazz series. The simple title, *Benny Carter*, tells the tale.



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That Time-Life has singled out this brilliant but unassuming man is but part of the story. An accompanying pamphlet by Morroe Berger, one of Princeton's best, and Berger's son Edward, gives Carter his place in the pantheon of jazz, historically and analytically.

The album is in effect an anthology of Carter's great recordings from 1929 to 1977, when he electrified the Montreux jazz festival. Included are records he made with orchestras and pick-up bands other than his own, to which he contributed notable arrangements and solos, as well as those appearing under his own name, running the gamut of his *œuvre*. Among the forty sides are more than a few which alone are worth the price of admission. I have heard "Dee Blues," recorded in 1930, scores of times and I hope to hear it hundreds more. Made by the Chocolate Dandies, a studio pick-up band, this traditional 12-bar blues is the product of one of those magic moments in jazz where everything comes together perfectly, producing an intensely moving recorded experience.

"Blues in B Flat" is something else again. It immortalizes a great jazz encounter—Art Tatum, the blind jazz pianist, subordinating his overwhelming technique and sometimes florid style to the blues form, yet simultaneously breaking out of it in tight clusters of notes. Carter's solo, on alto saxophone, is one of his most affecting. But what reaches out is the wonderfully evocative interplay of saxophone and piano as they ride on the quiet beat of Louis Bellson's drums.

Though there is much else in the album that merits comment, I single out "I'm Coming, Virginia," the tune which Beiderbecke made his own. Hearing it again, after many years, I was struck by the curious circumstance that Django Reinhardt, the Belgian gypsy guitarist, was the only one on that date who truly captured the spirit and the modalities of Beiderbecke's mood and phrasing.

There are other high spots in *Benny Carter*—many of them. They make the album an important jazz event and a monument to Carter's sensitivity, versatility, and musical intelligence. More important, it is a gloss on and an adumbration of the flowering of jazz and one man's contribution to America's best, if not only, music. □

# NATIVE GROUND

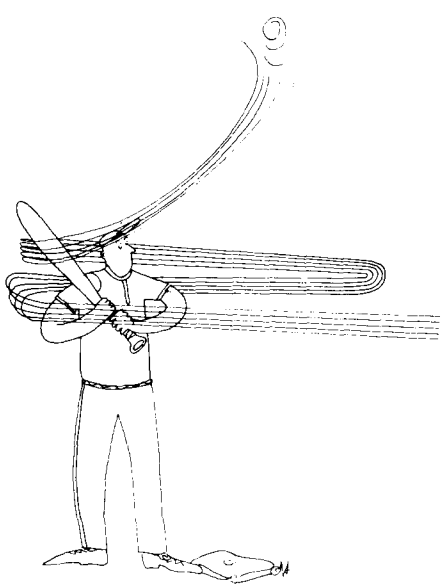
## BASEBALL AND THE MEANING OF LIFE

DONALD HALL

Professor McCormick's suggestion is surely farfetched. Although dark-suited umpires may remind him of warlocks, although the pitcher's motion mimics dubious rituals, we must resist the suggestion that baseball retains elements of the Old Religion. We may admit the existence of Seasonal Parallels without lending credence to his speculations on the shape of home plate.

For baseball dies into the October ground as leaves fall obscuring basepath and pitcher's mound, littering empty dugouts and bullpens, flitting like spooked grounders over second base into the stiffening outfield grass. November rain expunges lime-powder foul lines from Centerville's Little League Park to Yankee Stadium, from Yakima to Bangor, from Key West to Iron Mountain. Soon in the north a colder powder, no less white, freezes diamond and foul territory together into an egalitarian alabaster plain below the cold green ranks of box, grandstand, and bleacher. The old game waits under the white; deeper than frozen grass, down at the frostline it waits . . .

To return when the birds return. It starts to wake in the south where it had never quite stopped, where winter is a doze of hibernation interrupted by sleepy, staggering, momentary wakenings, like bears or skunks in a northern thaw. The game wakes gradually, gathering vigor to itself as the days lengthen late in February and grow warmer; old muscles grow limber, young arms throw strong and wild, legs pivot and leap, bodies hurtle into bright bases *safe* . . . Clogged vein-systems, in veteran oaks and left-fielders both, unstop themselves, putting forth leaves and line drives in Florida's March. Migrating north with the swallows, baseball and the grass's first green enter Cleveland, Kansas City, Boston.



Silly he may be, but on the whole we sympathize with Professor McCormick's imaginative anthropology *(The Bat and the Wand.* A. Doubleday. 60′6″. Cooperstown. No date). At least we share the intuition that connects baseball with the meaning of life.

April baseball is tentative, exploratory, daring and timid together, poking a quivering finger into the risen year. May strengthens, sure-footed now, turning night into bright green day, springing with young manhood's energy and vanity toward the twilights of high summer. In June the animal-plant, full-leaved and muscled with maturity, invites us to settle secure for a season.

We arrive at the ballpark early. The ballplayers have been here for hours, for BP and pepper and shagging outfield flies, as coaches with fungoes bang balls at the shins of shortstops, or raise cans of corn to the shallow outfield, or strike line drives off outfield walls and corners. We arrive and settle with scorecards and Crackerjack and peanuts and Schlitz and hot dogs. There is a rasp in our voices, there is glory in our infant hearts, there is mustard on our T-shirts.

Soon the tunnel disgorges three young men in bright suits carrying gloves, then two more, then six. "Play catch?" one says to another. They sort themselves by twos, throwing baseballs hard at each other without effort, drawing ruler-straight lines like chalk-stripes between them. The soft pock of caught balls sounds in attentive ears.

The bullpen squad—a coach, a catcher, two longmen, two or three shortmen—ambles with fabulous unconcern, chewing as slowly as prize Holsteins,



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down the foul lines toward their condominium in right field. The ninth inning's fastballing superstar ace-reliefman is not among them, but back in the trainer's room lying flat on his back, reading *Swann's Way* or *Looney Tunes*, waiting to trot his urgent trot from dugout to bullpen at the start of the eighth, the game 1 to 1, the one-man cavalry alerted to threat of ambush at the mountain pass.

Anticipating cavalry, the organist assaults the score of "The Star-Spangled Banner," which we attempt to sing because of the fierce joy that fills us and threatens to choke our throats unless we loosen this joyful noise. Then we chew the song's ending, and lean forward to watch the young men assume the field in their vain uniforms, to hear "Play ball!" to allow the game's dance to receive our beings into its rhythms for two hours or three.

Ah, the game! The game!

But what of the meaning of life . . .

Baseball connects American males with each other, not only through bleacher friendships and neighbor loyalties, not only through barroom fights, but most importantly through generations. When you are small you may not discuss politics or union dues or profit margins with your father's cigar-smoking friends when your father has gone out for a six-pack; but you may discuss baseball. It is all you have in common, because your father's friend does not wish to discuss the Assistant Principal or Alice Bisbee Morgan. About the season's moment you know as much as he does; both of you may shake your heads over Lefty's wildness or the rookie who was called out last Saturday when he tried to steal home with two out in the ninth inning down by one.

And you learn your first lessons of the rainbow arc all living makes, but that baseball exaggerates. For when you are in sixth grade, the rook has fuzz on his face and throws to the wrong base; before you leave junior high school, he is a seasoned regular, his body filled out, his jowl rippled with tobacco; when you graduate from high school he is a grizzled veteran—even if you are not certain what grizzled means. In a few years the green shoot becomes the withered stalk, and you learn the hill all beings travel by.

So Carl Yastrzemski enters his 42nd year. So Wilver Stargell's bones are stiff. While George Brett climbs the glorious mountain of his prime, all gut and muscle, his brother Ken watches with admiration and irony from the shadows of his quick sundown, who started the All-Star Game for the National League in 1974, his record 13 and 2, the lithe left arm bending sliders to catch the black—unbeatable, impervious, in his high stride hitting home runs from the ninth position. His brother George played AAA that year. That year somebody asked Ken Brett: "Why don't you play outfield when you're not pitching?" He smiled from his pleasant height: "Because they do not have that much money in Pittsburgh."

In 1980 Ken was released by the Dodgers, later signed on with George's KC as a long man in the bullpen. This year or next he will begin to make The Adjustment, as the players call it, when he leaves forever the game he doubtless began at the age of seven or eight. The light grows pale on the older players but never dwindles entirely away . . . I remember Edd Roush, batting champion of 1917, ancient and glorious at an Oldtimers' Game in 1975. Smokey Joe Wood, amazing fastballer of the 1912 Red Sox, signed autographs in Boston at a collectors' convention in 1980.

LET IT BE. Players age, and baseball changes, as veterans slide off by way of jets to Japan instead of buses to Spokane. Baseball changes, and we wish it never to change. Yet we know that inside the ball, be it horsehide or cowhide, the universe remains unaltered. Even if the moguls, twenty years from now, manage to move the game indoors and schedule 12 months a year, the seasons will remain implicit, like the lives of the players. Grow-lites do not legislate winter away. If the whole sport emigrates to Japan, baseball will remain a Zen garden.

For surely, as Professor McCormick fails to remind us, baseball sets off the meaning of life precisely because it is pure of meaning. As the ripples in the sand, in the Kyoto garden, organize and formalize the dust which is dust, so the diamonds and rituals of baseball create an elegant, trivial, enchanted grid on which our suffering, shapeless, sinful day leans for the momentary grace of order. □

# The PRINTED WORD

## WRITING ON THE WALL

### JOSEPH SOBRAN

Two decades ago the Berlin Wall went up nearly overnight, the most brutally unequivocal symbol of the division between our flawed civilization and the clumsy barbarism that threatens it. In August the occasion was commemorated by two major American publications.

*Life* did itself proud, with an astonishing 17 full pages of color photos of the 4,500-mile border of the Socialist Bloc, at every point of which soldiers stand ready to kill those who flee. If there is any political fact in this world from which it should be possible to take your moral bearings, this is it. The armed border most vividly exemplified by the Wall means that the hundreds of millions of people within are quite simply slaves, property of the states that confine them. If you haven't seen *Life*'s pictures yet, do. Meanwhile, I can't do better than to quote Jed Horne's accompanying text:

"It's not the first time a great power has tried to secure the margins of empire behind bulwarks of metal and stone. But the Iron Curtain is in one fundamental sense unprecedented. The Great Wall of China, Hadrian's Wall built by the Romans across the north of England—every other fortification of comparable scale has been a barricade thrown up against the threat of invasion. Unique in history, the Iron Curtain is predicated on the need to keep subject peoples penned in. After a few early modifications and continued remodeling over the years, it has become a remarkably effective prison."

With calm eloquence and perfect historical and moral perspective, Horne has said, in a paragraph, the essential truth about a subject the major media have contrived to evade ever since the mid-Sixties. It is almost startling to encounter such sanity in a popular magazine. Like many painful topics, the real mechanics of Communist oppression have been surrounded by taboo and euphemism.

Consider the way the same anniversary was handled in the *Washington*



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*Post*. In its Sunday Outlook section, the *Post* chose to turn the subject over to a veteran correspondent named Dick Rosse, who simply sneered the whole thing away. In a long, rambling memoir of his own Berlin experiences at the time, Rosse stepped around the central issue as if it had been a land mine, scoffing instead at American officials who spoke of (in his phrase) "U.S. determination, etc."

Rosse recalled with special affection Alfred Hitchcock, who, at a press conference, made light of the Wall—a bit of "irreverence" Rosse found "refreshing," in contrast to the "solemnity" with which our diplomats and politicians treated the whole business.

"Actually," he wrote, "all of us newspeople profited from the wall. Both in terms of money and career advancement." Many people turned the Wall into "a merchandisable commodity." "Our daily lives changed little during the crisis. . . . There was plenty of boozing and sleeping around . . ." After a general account of the merry cynicism that prevailed, Rosse more or less concluded that this had been the right attitude: "Those of us who were there on Potsdamer Strasse in August of 1961 will not lift a glass to join in East Berlin's celebration. But we might retire quietly for a solitary glass of wine and recall some memories that weren't all that unpleasant."

Not that Rosse was wholly cynical. About our side, yes. But not about the other side. He explained, for the benefit of those who might have missed Walter Ulbricht's pronouncements at the time, that "the rationale for the wall was entirely defensive." Irony here, you think? Not at all. "East Germany was hemorrhaging," you see. The refugees included "irreplaceable" engineers, doctors, workers, and farmers whom "the East Germans"—not, mind you, the Communist regime, but "the East Germans"—"desperately needed." The "press lord" Axel Springer—not the *publisher* Axel Springer—urged people to defect, while "more responsible voices" urged them "to stay on the farm and the hospitals and the classrooms."

We have been endlessly reminded that with the death of the *Washington Star*, which ceased publication the weekend Rosse's article appeared, the capital of the Free World has become a one-newspaper town. This became a cliché so fast that I didn't give it much thought.

But it is sobering that the Free World's capital's single newspaper—one of the two or three leading newspapers in the nation, the one most of our federal officials read every morning—sees fit to mark the anniversary of the Berlin Wall with a flippant *defense* of the Wall. Rosse and the *Post* are no doubt entitled to attitudinize lightly about American officialdom. But to turn this sort of urbaner-than-thou "irreverence" toward official rhetoric into a total derogation of the freedom of East Germans, penned inside a huge political prison—that's different. That's serious—no matter how bantering the tone, how glancing the apology for the men who keep the prison.

In fact it would be a big improvement if the Rosses of the Free World had the gumption to defend the Wall as honestly as Jed Horne attacks it. But how could they? The essence of their decadence lies in their preference for evasion and innuendo. Such are our "more responsible voices." □

# DELECTATIONS

## THE END OF THE CONTEST

### NIKA HAZELTON

Entrants in the 1981 Delectations contest were asked to send three entries from the *imaginary* diaries of a living or dead celebrity. Any mention of former Presidents Carter and Nixon was strictly verboten and would immediately disqualify the contestant.

The incorruptible judges have judged. Hard-eyed, tight-lipped, totally inscrutable, they sat down to their task. Seldom did a word drop from their icy reserve. As usual in *NR* contests, more men than women displayed their mettle. Also as usual, our contestants showed a high degree of literacy and dedication. Again, I wish to commend every contestant on his/her neatness and assure them that, if everything else fails, they have great futures as typists. In any case, thanks, and we all hope you had as much fun working out your entries as we did reading them.

FIRST PRIZE, three bottles of good wine, go to **Karen Sine*** of Beacon, N.Y. for her *most* original and amusing entry, as follows:

*From the Diary of Mrs. Abraham*

I am Sarah, and I am still 91 years and a day. All my friends are gone, disintegrating peacefully in nice, quiet graves all over Brooklyn, as they should be at their age. I sit in the lamplight thinking how peaceful life must be with the old familiar crowd down in the graveyard where nobody stares at a ridiculous old woman who is going to have a baby.

It is terribly inconvenient. I am wobbly and forgetful, and my teeth fall out when I laugh. At my age the postpartum blues will be as undignified as chicken pox. I simply cannot understand baseball. My kitchen has never known peanut butter, nor my walls a purple crayon. But when I feel the child kick inside me like a kitten in the pocket of an old coat, it makes me laugh, and laugh, and laugh.

*From the diary of Mr. Abraham*

Somebody is bound to write the *Times*. Begetting is not as popular as it once was. Of course years ago it was a great thing and nobody seemed to mind. I had good faith when I was young and I prayed very hard for a child. That was a long while ago, and who would have thought the Lord remembered? Not Sarah. When the angels came, she thought they were just nice young men selling encyclopedias. We were kind to them, though, and, as I said, we had faith, so now we will have a son and he will inherit the Bronx. And Manhattan. And Staten Island.

"That's New York," I said when the Lord pointed it out. "The Democrats own that."

"Never mind the Democrats," He said. "I will give this land to your descendants." Which is what comes of having faith, or not voting properly. Or both.

*From the diary of Mayor Koch*

A guy named Abraham sent me a registered letter—which took three weeks to get here from Queens—saying the Lord told him to take over the City,

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Delectations judges are not only incorruptible, but consistent—as are Delectations contestants. Mrs. Sine, we have learned, also won the last Delectations contest, three years ago.



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and I gave it to Doris to put in the crank file, which she did, and the lights went out and it started to rain. That was three days ago and there are four million people out there sitting on the roofs of their cars with their legs in the water. The transit workers swam off their jobs with the cops and firemen, which is OK, because nothing is going to burn in this weather, and the trains don't work too well in the surf. There are some characters claiming to be archangels throwing brimstone off the Empire State Building and the Guardian Angels are trying to arrest them, and it'll cost $40 billion to clean up the mess. Abraham who?

SECOND PRIZE, an Elsa Peretti pen, goes to **Kit Carlson** of Satellite Beach, Florida for this entry:

*From the Diary of California Governor Jerry Brown*
Dear Diary:

Saw the Space Shuttle go up today. Very impressive. Learned that the cargo bay is large enough to hold a small whale. This could be the big breakthrough. Have set up a team to study the feasibility of saving the whales by sending them into space. Love,
Jerry

*From the Diary of Carrie Nation*
Dearest Diary,

Today we had a simply smashing time here, visiting the Olde Raunche Saloon. I think I may hang over until Friday to show these people that I'm not the hack they think I am.

Abstemiously yours,
Carrie

*From the Diary of Millard Fillmore*
Dear Diary,

Sincerely,
Millard

TWO THIRD PRIZES of one mug each were awarded to **Bruce Millard** of New York City (please learn to spell names correctly) and **Charles J. Schlotter** of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Bruce Millard's entry:
*From the Diary of Gloria Steinem*

It's horrible, horrible. Our feminist convention ended in disaster when the ocean-liner sank in the North Atlantic.

Lifeboats for only one-third aboard. The captain said, "Ladies and children first. Feminists and gentlemen to draw lots." Not ONE woman claimed to be a sister. I was so mortified!! I could hardly see where I was rowing because of the tears.

*From the Diary of Robert Frost*

I've seen typos before, but this is ridiculous. My publisher printed the last line, "And miles to go before I sleep," *twice*.

*From the Diary of Punch Sulzberger*

It'll certainly save some dollars, anyway. Preliminary results indicate that four monkeys working at four typewriters can bang out an Anthony Lewis column in about 12 hours.

Charles J. Schlotter's entry:
*From the Diary of Emily Dickinson*
January 17, 1881
Morning—Nothing.
Afternoon—Nothing.
Evening—Nothing.
January 18, 1881
Morning—Nothing.
Afternoon—Heard a fly buzz.
Evening—Things quieted down.
January 19, 1881
Morning—Nothing.
Afternoon—Also nothing.
Evening—Nothing.

THE BOOBY PRIZE, a James Bond paperback autographed by Blackford Oakes, goes to David Price of Midlothian, Va. for:

*From the Diary of James Bond*

*March 1, 1956.* I am presently in Geneva, awaiting some kind of signal from M. Although I am largely confined to my hotel room, my usual restless nature is placated by the knowledge that Candace will soon be here to keep me company. Good old Candace! 34-26-36! Owing to my incomparable charm, I am confidently expecting her to give her all.

*March 2, 1956.* A message from M. came through on the wires this morning. Seems I'm to meet some CIA chap—Oakes, that was his name, Blackford Oakes. (Queer name, that.) I can't say I'm looking forward to this. With my luck he'll probably turn out to be an Ivy-Leaguer. The American services hire so many of those stuffed-shirts! Fortunately, Candace and her splendid protuberances will be here as well.

*March 3, 1956.* I don't know what to think. I just don't understand. Oakes and Candace and I went out for lunch, and now she's in Oakes's room for the night! She went crazy the minute she laid eyes on him. Throughout the meal I had the most unpleasant feeling that I was being outclassed—and after waiting with such anticipation to see her! Maybe I'll take in a nightclub or two. Then again, maybe I'll just go straight to bed. □

# BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE HARPER ANTHOLOGY OF POETRY, *by John Frederick Nims (Harper and Row, 842 pp., $18).* Highly regarded as a poet, teacher, translator, editor of *Poetry* magazine, and great explainer of prosody, Nims has put 15 years of work and a lifetime of experience into making an anthology in which seven hundred selections are gathered—working sometimes from first editions and even original manuscripts. Ranging from A.D. 1200 through the modern era, this refreshing collection offers many poems by major poets not often anthologized (Wallace Stevens, Ezra Pound, Marianne Moore); good anonymous poems; great poems by minor poets (Cleveland's "Upon the Death of Mr. King Drowned in the Irish Sea," Swift's "Rhapsody" on poetry, Elizabeth Barrett Browning on male chauvinism in Victorian England, Clough's "Natura Naturans," James Russell Lowell's poem about political corruption and the public's indifference to it, John Davidson's "A Runnable Stag," much admired by Eliot); a broader and deeper presentation of American poets (Jones Very, Frederick Tuckerman, Mona Van Duyn, a concrete poem by E. E. Cummings, and Andrew Weiman's phonemic double helix poem). To Nims, poems are good to the degree that while existing as voice alone they can beam the intensities of our nature into the world of words. Their essential qualities are life, vitality, body-and-soul being. NEREO E. CONDINI



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# Dark Horses

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

HERE IS a specimen of our enlightened modern clergy in the white heat of charismatic performance, of political and philosophical eruption:

> All of us, really, are hostages, those in the developed countries as well as in the developing nations. Hostages to a vast political economic system of cruelty structures which are preordaining that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. . . . These systems are so pervasive, so corrupting of the good intentions of decent people, so powerful, so destructive of human well-being, so intractable and self-defensive, that perhaps the word which Khomeini uses for them, the word "satanic," is the only word which is aptly descriptive.

The "vast political economic system" to which Bishop Dale White of the United Methodist Church refers is of course Amerika; the "cruelty structures," Amerikan corporations. If this is not a statement typical of those made by the members of his estate, it is at least, coming from them, a wholly familiar one. A sizable proportion—by no means restricted to the "liberation theologians"—of the Christian clergy today is, when it addresses questions of social importance, simply talking through its hat. Seldom in the history of Christianity have so many of its ordained representatives been not worth listening to.

In *Toward a Theology of the Corporation* (American Enterprise Institute, 1150 Seventeenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; $4.25), Michael Novak argues that, as a class, men of God and theologians are largely ignorant of the modern world. They see it in pre-capitalist, pre-democratic terms. The society which their training has led them to regard as normative is Palestine at the time of Christ: a traditionalist society with few people and a rudimentary economy and technology. The Bible stresses an ethics of personal charity and paternalism—modes of behavior that are less appropriate, in their institutionalized forms, to democratic, capitalist, pluralist societies.

This prejudice in favor of a vanished world causes churchmen to see little but ill in the world they inhabit: greed, power-hunger, corruption. Too, they resent losing their status as the normal arbiters of society. ". . . There is often," Novak remarks, "a secret hankering, a lingering nostalgia, for a planned society that would once again permit church leaders to be in alliance with civil leaders in suffusing an entire society with their values." Clearly, he believes, the religious establishment has failed to perceive the structure of the modern (modernized) world: a tripartite order, loosely but wholly interwoven of three basic systems—moral, economic, and political. The churches' impatience with this order leads them into the temptation Novak calls "the new Constantinism [which] appears today as socialism in totalitarian states and as statism in mixed economies."

A rudimentary theology of politics, Novak observes, has been worked out, but so far no theology of economics. Although the theology of the business corporation ought to follow, not precede, the latter, he attempts anyway to suggest a theological context for the corporation as a legitimate modern institution. He traces its historical roots from the late Roman Christian monastic communities and emphasizes its essentially social nature, which, he points out, is greatly at odds with its rabidly individualistic reputation.

NOVAK'S BOOKLET is reprinted in *The Corporation: A Theological Inquiry* (American Enterprise Institute, $15.25; $7.25), edited by Novak and John W. Cooper. Among other contributions are those by P. T. Bauer, Oscar Handlin, and Paul W. McCracken. Several, though excellent in themselves, are not finely honed to the subject at hand. But Bernard Murchland's "The Socialist Critique of the Corporation" is not to be missed. His discussion of existentialism as "the most traditional of all modern philosophies" and his argument that it is attuned to the spirit of capitalism is worth the price of the book. □


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## Personal

**(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)**

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## Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[JEAN] STAPLETON:

[*The*] *Language Chasm*

We adults do have something in common with today's teenagers. They listen to rock groups and we listen to economists. None of us understands a word they're saying. (Title supplied. Miss Stapleton plays Archie Bunker's long-suffering wife on television.)



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## REED

(Continued from page 1018)

When he made up his mind to accept the invitation and penned his letter to the public, he had to have been aware of his impending departure from El Salvador. That awareness explains his foresight in carrying the letter, his passport, and his note-pad on his errand to the pharmacy, but it indicts his theatrics in answering his call of conscience.

At a press conference held at New York's Kennedy Airport on May 8, Fr. Bourgeois contended that his duty to commune with the poor "transcended" his responsibility to Maryknoll and WBBM-TV. "I did not know how much pain it would cause my fellow Maryknollers and my family. I apologize for the pain and anguish," Fr. Bourgeois said. He also expressed his contrition to the victimized TV station, which, after his disappearance, was roundly criticized for its irresponsibility in luring the renowned foe of the Salvadoran junta into the viper's nest and thereby placing him in "extremely grave danger." His repentance would have been unnecessary if he had simply reciprocated the working trust of WBBM's field-crew by making a serious effort to notify his companions that he was, as Station Manager Lund put it, "taking a hike."

That Fr. Bourgeois maintained effective invisibility after his conscience beckoned him from the hotel only enhanced the suspicion that he had fallen victim to "the senseless violence in El Salvador that has claimed the lives of two American labor leaders and four American missionaries," in the words of a pronouncement made by Senator Kennedy on the day he and Senator Tsongas admonished President Duarte in their telegram.

In addition to propelling him to the status of temporary martyr, the contrived circumstances surrounding Fr. Bourgeois's disappearance served another purpose: they helped focus negative attention on the Duarte government just as CISPES was conducting its May 3 rally at the Pentagon. Fr. Bourgeois had been missing for some eight days by then, and his name was poignantly invoked on practically the very spot where he had been arrested (he was subsequently convicted of depredation of government property and assault) during an anti-nuclear demonstration on April 28 of last year. His disappearance proved timely indeed.

How interesting, then, to note that on the partial list of those endorsing the march there appears: "Rev. Roy Bourgeois, Maryknoll Fathers (Missing in El Salvador)." This courteous inclusion may have been in deference to his reputation as an activist-in-good-standing under the CISPES umbrella, a status reported in the May 1 edition of the Communist *Daily World*. One reasonable conclusion to draw from this, however, is that the alarming nature of his disappearance was no accident.

Despite Maryknoll's official disapproval of his antics, Fr. Bourgeois remains an unchastened member of the order. From the available research on the missionary society, let alone the published remarks of its members, it seems that, aside from the matter of proper conduct, the Maryknollers would have no quarrel with Fr. Bourgeois if he actually did intend to taint the reputation of the Salvadoran government.

The controversial order has for some time been on the cutting edge of the so-called "liberation theology," a bizarre casserole of the word of God and selected disciplines of Karl Marx's scientific socialism; *Washington Post* Foreign Service Correspondent Loren Jenkins limply describes this mixture as an "insistence on identifying with the poor and the oppressed . . ."

Somehow, these heretofore incompatible ministries—the worship of God and the worship of State—have been fused in the bosom of Maryknoll. Perhaps the implications of this confluence of theology and ideology can be grasped by comparing Fr. Noonan's desire for "true justice, love, and peace" in El Salvador with the fate of the society which succumbed to "Peace! Land! Bread!"—Vladimir Lenin's secular slogan for the Bolsheviks' October Revolution.

Better for the suffering people of El Salvador, and their would-be friends in the United States, to heed instead the observation of a more worthy Russian—Fyodor Dostoyevsky, who wrote in *The Brothers Karamazov*: "The socialist who is a Christian is more to be dreaded than a socialist who is an atheist."

The corrosive blandishments of the Maryknollers ("Marxism is the divine whip—a blessing in disguise for the Church") and Father Roy Bourgeois's artful, even if unintended, manipulation of the news are a testimony to that warning and show once again that truth is no stranger to fiction. □



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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

# Airborne MX?

On The Right

*New York*, Aug. 14—Those (few) of us who have not spoken apodictically on the subject of MX are deterred by the infinite complexity of the question. By contrast, the givens in the situation ought to be accepted as just that, axiomatic. They are, simply, that 1) the Soviet Union now has the power to take out our land-based missiles in a first strike, leaving us wobbly on the two remaining legs of the defensive triad, namely bombers and submarines, both of them less accurate than necessary to execute counterforce missions; and 2) rather than increase the number of live launching sites, we can accomplish the desired objective by simulating launching sites, leaving the Soviet Union to worry about which of the sites are armed, which are not; requiring, therefore, that they tool up to take out all of them in order to bring off a successful first strike.

Now, a week ago, the *Washington Post* reported that Secretary of Defense Cap Weinberger was recommending to Mr. Reagan that he opt for airborne rather than land-based MX missiles, and it is the purpose of this piece to ventilate the misgivings about that option of Mr. Damian Housman, a Washington-based defense analyst of very great intelligence whose views are weighty. I proceed notwithstanding that the White House has issued denials—not going so far as to say that President Reagan has rejected the airborne alternative MX, but that he has not yet made up his mind as among the alternatives.

HERE, highly compressed, are the objections to an airborne system. 1) An aircraft is more vulnerable than a shelter, or silo. 2) The cost of maintaining sufficient aircraft (one hundred C-5s) in the air, or even a substantial number of them, is mind-boggling. 3) We don't have one hundred spare C-5s sitting around (we have 77 total, and they are presumably spoken for). 4) The Air Force is short several hundred pilots right now. 5) Aircraft are subject to terrorist attacks. One sniper with an SA-7 could knock an airplane down on liftoff. Granted, the bombs would not detonate on impact in the heart of, oh, Cleveland. But the emotional shock would be paralyzing. It would almost surely mean the loss of Jane Fonda. 6) Missiles fired from moving platforms are less accurate and hence could not be counted on to take out "hard" targets (Russian silos). They are, then, "counter-value" weapons (i.e., population-crushers) rather than "counterforce" weapons (i.e., missile-crushers). 7) It is more chancy to give instructions to pilots than to personnel on the ground. 8) Airplanes have more accidents than silos.

Mr. Housman proceeds to suggest a land-based alternative based on the idea of the "valley cluster."

As the public generally understands the proposal put before the house by Jimmy Carter, land-based MX missiles would consume huge hunks of territory, in Utah, or Nevada. In fact, the entire accumulated area necessary for 4,600 shelters would be a total of 25 square miles.

Think in terms of six-hundred-square-foot shelters, a cluster of 23, each at least one mile distant from any other. The MX missiles are in one of those 23, but the Russians don't know which. Replicate by a factor of two hundred. You now have 4,600 shelters. To take out the whole system, the Soviet Union would need probably two warheads per shelter, or more than the total they now dispose of. To gear up for such an operation would take the Soviet Union years, during which we would have achieved the relative impregnability the Minuteman missiles enjoyed for two decades.

Now add this: a rudimentary ABM defense system sufficient to worry the Soviet Union to the point of—and this is the objective—simply giving up the idea that they could get away with a successful first strike.

The idea—simple, modest in its demands on land; nicely removed from population centers; inordinately expensive for the Soviet Union to counteract—would appear, prima facie, far preferable to all those airplanes flying around with hydrogen bombs, but then I'm only an amateur. With X-ray vision. □

## LANE KIRKLAND'S FIREWORKS

*New York*, July 29—I have a secret. If you sit down next to Lane Kirkland and just talk to him you will discover that he is a man of humor, intelligence, reason, and urbanity. I write these words only after checking with a labor lawyer and ascertaining that you can use them to describe the head of the AFL-CIO without committing a libel or, in the phrase of the litigators, "injuring an advantageous commercial reputation."

I was trying to take in the Queen's fireworks at Hyde Park, but flashed over to Lane Kirkland, delivering, for the benefit of the uninstructed, the rebuttal to Mr. Reagan's speech. I listened to Mr. Kirkland for a bit, then switched back to the fireworks; but I couldn't concentrate, and so went back to Kirkland, with his Catherine's Wheel of objections to the proposal that Congress reduce taxes evenhandedly at a rate that might conceivably just outpace inflation over the next three years. Back to the fireworks . . . Back to Kirkland. Soon one could not tell the difference. By the time Mr. Kirkland was through, the bursting stars, the constellation of flaming furies, was as great over at CBS-TV as at Hyde Park, London. If, after listening to Kirkland, the mobs had gone back and stormed the Bastille, I wouldn't have been surprised.

The great discovery of this historic year, the political skills of President Reagan apart, is the Democrats' discovery of people who make between $30,000 and $50,000 per year. Mind you, their timing was perfect. First they spent twenty years



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during which the man who earned $30,000 traveled from affluence to relative stringency. The man who in 1960 earned $30,000 could meet the mortgage payments, send two or three children to school, travel to Yosemite on his vacation, and stash away a couple of thousand dollars against the inevitable rain.

Today, the man who earns $30,000 has severe difficulty doing any of the above, let alone all of them. He is earning the equivalent of 10,800 1960 dollars. He is paying taxes of $5,000, he has to pay out 20 per cent interest to the banks and mortgage companies. And the school bills are approximately four times what they then were.

"After the war," Evelyn Waugh wrote in his little biographical sketch, "Nancy Mitford voted Socialist. Having done her best to make Britain uninhabitable, she went to France to live."

HAVING done his best to make life hard for people earning $30,000 (which leaves 90 per cent of American wage-earners even worse off), Lane Kirkland has decided that they deserve his consideration. It's just this simple, he told the audience: it's a question of whether you are in favor of people making $30,000 to $50,000, or whether you are in favor of people making more than $50,000.

To which the appropriate comment is that that act of reductionism is appropriate to a simpleton, rather than to an analyst seeking simple breakdowns. One wonders: What would have happened if, during Mr. Kirkland's tirade, someone had tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Er, Mr. Kirkland, are you aware that if we taxed 100 per cent of all the money now made by those who earn more than $50,000, you wouldn't raise enough money to run the Federal Government for even one week?" It is difficult to conceive how Mr. Kirkland would have emerged from such an interruption.

The fact of the matter, not once mentioned by Kirkland (or by Daniel Patrick Moynihan—and he truly knows better), is that what counts is the marginal tax rate. Nothing else. If there is unemployment, how do you cope? By increasing production. If increased production is required, how do you cope? By increasing capitalization. If that is required, how? By luring savings into industry. How do you do that? By encouraging savings and productivity. How? By putting a special premium on the earning of the top dollar. The best way to help the man earning $30,000 is to decrease his marginal tax rate. And that is true right up and down the scale. True of the man on the edge of poverty, true of the millionaire. It is a relief to fondle the statistics: last year, almost one-half of the people who belong to Lane Kirkland's unions had the good sense to vote for Reagan for President. In doing so, among other things they enhanced the economic security of Lane Kirkland. □

## ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS . . .

*New York*, Aug. 19—I have discovered a secret national frustration. It is incompletely covered by the press—mostly, I think, because, like rape victims, we are not eager to divulge our victimization. Let me be specific.

A month or so back I saw in the paper a description of a new watch which appeared to have special features useful to me. It came accompanied by a two-color instruction manual in three languages, with a fold-out section, over which I and two men freshly out of college labored the better part of the evening. All I wished to do was set the watch into operation. The next day I framed a letter to the seller advising him that I had set out to purchase a watch, not a puzzle, and was returning same forthwith. But that night it happened that an old friend, a graduate of MIT, came by. He has X-ray vision with instruction manuals and in an hour or two had it working.

But my MIT friend doesn't live on the premises, and one feature of my watch is that if you elect so to instruct it, it will give a loudish beep every hour on the hour. It had been so instructed.

"Will you please turn that damn thing off?" my wife said to me the next morning. "I woke up every hour during the night."

"Ah, but it was every hour *on* the hour!" I chortled, attempting to find the silver lining.

It didn't work, so I set out to turn off the hourly alarm. My MIT friend had left a transcript in English on how to handle the watch (a single typewritten page of straightforward, narrative prose was all you needed). But he had neglected to cover the alarm-on-the-hour feature. So I went to the store owner, and, embarrassed, he said he couldn't figure it out either, but I should call the U.S. representative, which I did; and he told me he couldn't figure it out but his partner, who was on the phone, could, and might he call back? In due course the formula was vouchsafed to me, and I no longer have to leave my watch in the bathroom at night.

"Setting modes. Digital: 1) Select display mode, 2) enter setting mode with twin push D/B, 3) set flashing units O with C (single action or rapid advance), 4) select flashing units with B, 5) leave setting mode with twin push D/B." That kind of thing is what you find in the manual. Does it set off an alarm in your mind?

Hugh Kenner, the famous critic, years ago advised me of the techniques used by the Heath Company in Wisconsin. This is a make-it-yourself outfit that will sell you the constituent parts of anything from a thimble to a skyscraper, with instructions. With clear instructions. The means of crafting these is to draft a set, then hire the off-time services of two women, let us say shipping clerks, put them in a room with the instructions, and tell them to proceed to assemble the unit. This they do, following the draft. Whenever they get stuck on an item, the Heath executive is there to make a note of the difficulty so that in succeeding drafts it is disposed of.

But now Zenith has purchased Heath, and things, after a certain point, are different. Listen. "The Heath assembly instructions," writes Mr. Kenner about a Heath/Zenith word-processor he purchased, "manifest their legendary adequacy. I even turned large portions of the job over to 11-year-old Lisa, who has a passion for soldering and met no difficulty in interpreting any line of the step-by-step text. The difficulties were subsequent. Here we had this monster, as they say, 'up and running,' and nowhere in the looseleaf Heath computer systems manual two inches thick could we find ready access to anything we wanted to know next.

"If you assemble a record player they assume you know how to play records. On the same principle, having assembled a computer you are supposed to know how to use a computer. The 'documentation' (trade jargon) is superb, which means only that the information is all in there somewhere. The best analogy I can think of is this, that needing some elementary skills in Russian, you are handed a grammar and a Russian-English dictionary."

WHAT TO do? Mr. Kenner, who usually writes either for the Encyclopaedia Britannica or for Classics of the Twentieth Century, would gladly rewrite the instructions, so that Heath/Zenith could "advertise that casual purchasers, especially of the ready-assembled versions, would be led from the existence of the equipment straight into the Elysian fields of its usefulness."

But too many manufacturers, American (have you ever tried a Texas Instrument instruction manual?) as well as foreign, lose interest once the article has left the factory.

Here is a real supply-side opportunity: A cottage industry of such as Hugh Kenner, to write the manuals. If Zenith wastes any time in getting in touch with him, put that down on the ledger on which you weigh evidence of American industrial decadence. □

**(Universal Press Syndicate)**



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# Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

## DEFINITIONS

A. A tincture of opium — 62 85 168 139 142 13 155 193

B. Rudimentary — 52 205 90 184 102 146 17 203 161

C. Self-evident (ask Lizzie Borden) — 56 141 44 162 182 129 10 18 93

D. What male sheep are — 105 109 119 167 89 149 209 98 6 50 / 95 48

E. WARNED EELS = beginners of spending orgies — 110 53 64 122 127 27 154 177 207 66

F. Immunities — 113 57 74 178 88 111 166 63 180 202

G. Airships — 117 16 45 170 35 186 77 114 132 148

H. What an equine has that keeps it from betting on a man — 189 68 130 204 208 15 38 187 46 58

I. Provides naturally — 47 41 134 9 22 79 84

J. One of the Missouri R.'s many tributaries (Iowa-Mo.) — 191 12 61 108 121 125 72 78 96 156 / 179

K. Blows up — 94 160 163 115 197 23 157 106 19

L. ROY SET WEST = menu entry — 99 97 59 1 21 136 39 124 140 116

M. What the musical composer does — 133 150 164 158 20 185 69

N. The speed of an anti-abortionist? — 67 4 26 91 145 196 206 29 43 55 / 83

O. A dirty business? — 40 14 28 36 75 81 103 87

P. An Irish poet and dramatist (1865-1939) — 80 194 200 169 70

Q. Domestic — 92 24 73 192 34 181

R. Embroidery — 147 118 138 176 201 3 82 76 159 51

S. A cave — 32 199 171 151 174 183

T. Bryant's most famous poem — 49 2 30 37 65 212 195 54 7 71 / 25

U. NO FASTER NO = times of day — 60 42 144 5 165 211 104 135 8 128

V. Author of the *Anabasis* — 126 190 172 153 100 112 175 31

W. To disappear — 131 152 101 86 33 123 11

X. A backward feline and a forward feline amidst a backward bone — 173 188 120 137 143 210 107 198

## DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 1038 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 L | 2 T | 3 R | 4 N | 5 U | | 6 D | 7 T | | 8 U | 9 I | 10 C | 11 W | 12 J | 13 A | 14 O | | 15 H | 16 G |
| 17 B | 18 C | 19 K | 20 M | 21 L | 22 I | | 23 K | 24 Q | | 25 T | 26 N | | 27 E | 28 O | 29 N | 30 T | 31 V | 32 S | 33 W |
| 34 Q | 35 G | | 36 O | 37 T | 38 H | 39 L | | 40 O | 41 I | 42 U | 43 N | 44 C | 45 G | 46 H | | 47 I | 48 D | | 49 T |
| 50 D | | 51 R | 52 B | 53 E | 54 T | | 55 N | 56 C | 57 F | 58 H | 59 L | | 60 U | 61 J | | 62 A | 63 F | 64 E | |
| 65 T | 66 E | | 67 N | 68 H | 69 M | 70 P | 71 T | 72 J | 73 Q | 74 F | | 75 O | 76 R | 77 G | 78 J | 79 I | 80 P | | 81 O |
| 82 R | 83 N | 84 I | | 85 A | 86 W | 87 O | | 88 F | 89 D | 90 B | 91 N | 92 Q | 93 C | | 94 K | 95 D | 96 J | 97 L | |
| 98 D | 99 L | | 100V | 101W | 102B | | 103O | 104U | 105D | 106K | | 107X | 108J | 109D | 110E | | 111F | 112V | 113F |
| | 114G | 115K | 116L | | 117G | 118R | 119D | 120X | 121J | 122E | 123W | | 124L | 125J | 126V | 127E | 128U | | 129C |
| 130H | 131W | | 132G | 133M | 134I | 135U | 136L | 137X | 138R | 139A | | 140L | 141C | 142A | 143X | 144U | 145N | 146B | 147R |
| 148G | | 149D | 150M | 151S | | 152W | 153V | 154E | 155A | 156J | 157K | 158M | 159R | 160K | | 161B | 162C | 163K | 164M |
| 165U | 166F | 167D | 168A | 169P | 170G | 171S | 172V | 173X | | 174S | 175V | | 176R | 177E | 178F | 179J | 180F | 181Q | |
| 182C | 183S | 184B | 185M | | 186G | 187H | | 188X | 189H | 190V | | 191J | 192Q | 193A | 194P | | 195T | 196N | |
| 197K | 198X | 199S | 200P | 201R | 202F | | 203B | 204H | | 205B | 206N | 207E | 208H | | 209D | 210X | 211U | 212T | |



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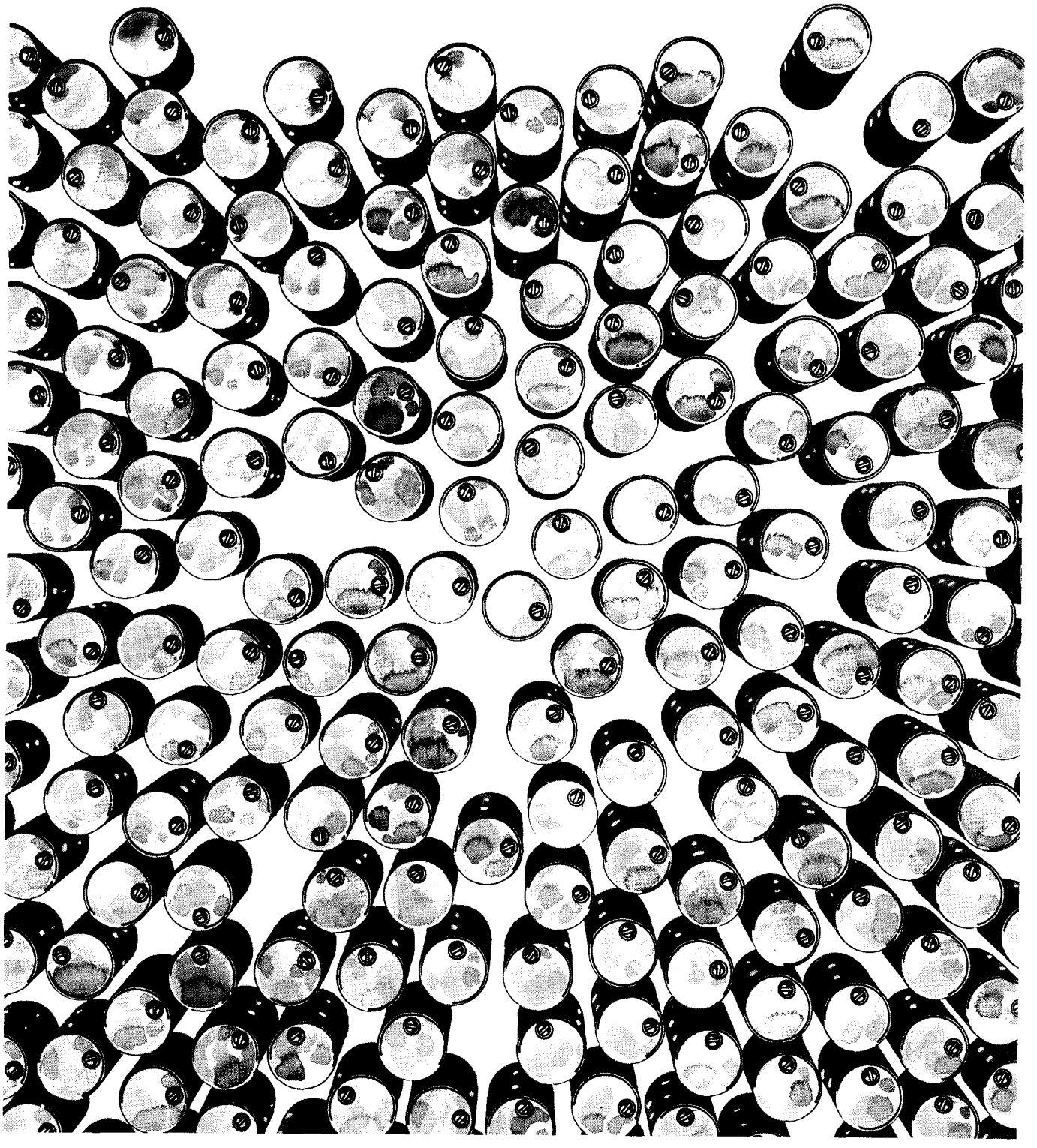

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# The Modern Little Red Hen.

Once upon a time, there was a little red hen who scratched about the barnyard until she uncovered some grains of wheat. She called her neighbors and said, "If we plant this wheat, we shall have bread to eat. Who will help me plant it?"

"Not I," said the cow.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Not I," said the pig.

"Not I," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen. And she did. The wheat grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap my wheat?" asked the little red hen.

"Not I," said the duck.

"Out of my classification," said the pig.

"I'd lose my seniority," said the cow.

"I'd lose my unemployment compensation," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen, and she did.

At last it came time to bake the bread. "Who will help me bake the bread?" asked the little red hen.

"That would be overtime for me," said the cow.

"I'd lose my welfare benefits," said the duck.

"I'm a dropout and never learned how," said the pig.

"If I'm to be the only helper, that's discrimination," said the goose.

"Then I will," said the little red hen.

She baked five loaves and held them up for her neighbors to see.

They all wanted some and, in fact, demanded a share. But the little red hen said, "No, I can eat the five loaves myself."

"Excess profits!" cried the cow.

"Capitalist leech!" screamed the duck.

"I demand equal rights!" yelled the goose.

And the pig just grunted. And they painted "unfair" picket signs and marched round and round the little red hen, shouting obscenities.

When the government agent came, he said to the little red hen, "You must not be greedy."

"But I earned the bread," said the little red hen.

"Exactly," said the agent. "That is the wonderful free enterprise system. Anyone in the barnyard can earn as much as he wants. But under our modern government regulations, the productive workers must divide their product with the idle."

And they lived happily ever after, including the little red hen, who smiled and clucked, "I am grateful. I am grateful."

But her neighbors wondered why she never again baked any more bread.

Material originally prepared by Pennwalt Corporation.

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